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LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

CHAPTER I.

The Spanish Struggle of 1808.— Quarrels of Charles IV. and Ferdinand.— Intrigues of the Prince of Peace.—Buonaparte puts his Designs against Spain into Execution. — Fraudulently obtains Possession of the Fortresses of Spain.—Abdication of Charles, and subsequent Proceedings. — Murders, Outrages, and Assassinations. — Insurrections of the Spaniards against the French. — Joseph Buonaparte created King of Spain and the Indies.—Napoleon's Decree proclaiming him.—Declaration of War by the Junta of Spain against France.—They apply to England for Aid.—Feeling in their Favour in this Kingdom.—The King's Speech. — Public Subscriptions. — The Spanish Prisoners liberated, equipped, and sent out to Spain. — Letter of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent to the King, desiring to resume the Command of Gibraltar, now menaced by Buonaparte.—The Application refused.—Sir Arthur Wellesley's Operations in Portugal, August, 1808.—Defeat of the French at Vimiera.—Convention of Cintra.—Political Intrigues.—Sir Arthur superseded.—Observations of Lord Henry Petty.—Sir Arthur resumes his Office as Chief Secretary of Ireland. — General Sir John Moore's Expedition to Spain.—Sir David Baird sent with 10,000 Men from Cork to Corunna.—Disasters of the Campaign.—Apathy and Rapacity of the Spaniards. — Mr. Hookham Frere's Appointment as Ambassador.—Defective Political Arrangements.—Earl Grey censures Mr. Frere's Conduct. — Destitution of the British Army under Sir John Moore. — Want of the Means of Subsistence. — Bravery of the

British Soldiers.—Defeat of the French at Corunna.—Moore slain.—Baird grievously wounded.—Necessity of a Change in the whole System of Operations.

The unnatural quarrels between Charles the Fourth of Spain and his son Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, and the intrigues of the Queen, who was governed by the minion with whom she was enamoured, Don Manuel Godoy,—by antiphrasis styled "the Prince of Peace,"—afforded Napoleon an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the Peninsula, and putting into execution his deep-laid designs for the removal of the Bourbons from the neighbourhood of France, the destruction of British commerce, which found its way in defiance of the Emperor's edicts into the Continent through Gibraltar, the aggrandisement of France, and the exaltation of his own family. The events which preceded the memorable Spanish struggle of 1808—the fraudulent seizure of the fortresses of Spain by the French troops—the flight and forced abdication of the imbecile Charles the Fourth—the assumption of kingly power by his worthless son—the resumption of royalty by Charles—his second renunciation—the imprisonment of the royal family of Spain — the massacres, insurrections, assassinations, and dreadful crimes perpetrated both by Spaniards and their invaders, which made Spain a land of blood, and filled Europe with horror,—and the intrusion of Buonaparte's brother as King upon the Spanish nation by the Dictator of France, are too familiar to the reader, to render it necessary to dwell upon the details. They are merely glanced at, for the purpose of pointing out the origin of those circumstances which led to the mission of the Marquess Wellesley to Seville in the ensuing year, as Ambassador Extraordinary from his Britannic Majesty. On the 8th of June, 1808, Joseph Buonaparte was constituted King of Spain and the Indies. The ordinance of Napoleon,—then intoxicated with power and ambition, and little dreaming of the terrible finale on the desolate rock of St. Helena,—was to the following effect :—

"Napoleon, by the grace of God, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederacy of the Rhine, to all men to whom these presents shall come, sends greeting :—

"The junta of the state, the council of Castile, the city of Madrid, &c. having notified to us, by their addresses that the well-being of Spain requires a speedy stop to be put to the provisional government; we have resolved to proclaim, and we do by these presents proclaim our well-beloved brother Joseph Napoleon, the present King of Naples and Sicily, to be King of Spain and the Indies.

"We guarantee to the King of Spain the independence and integrity of his states in Europe, as well as in Africa, Asia, and America ; charging the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the ministers, and the council of Castile to cause this proclamation to be expedited, and publicly announced, according to the usual custom, that none may plead ignorance hereof.

"Given at our Imperial Palace at Bayonne, June 6, 1808.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.
"H. B. MARET, Minister of State."

By a singular coincidence, *on the very same day* the following declaration was promulgated by the supreme Junta of Spain:—

"Declaration of War against the Emperor of France, Napoleon the First.

"France, under the government of the Emperor Napoleon the First, has violated towards Spain the most sacred compacts—has arrested her monarchs; obliged them to a forced, and manifestly void, abdication and renunciation—has behaved with the same violence towards the Spanish nobles whom he keeps in his power—has declared that he will elect a King of Spain, the most horrible attempt that is recorded in history—has sent his troops into Spain, seized her fortresses and her capital, and scattered his troops throughout the country—has committed against Spain all sorts of assassinations, robberies, and unheard-of cruelties; and this he has done with the most enormous ingratitude to the services which the Spanish nation has rendered France, to the friendship it has shown her; thus treating it with the most dreadful perfidy, fraud, and treachery, such as was never committed against any nation or monarch by the most barbarous or ambitious king or people. He has, in fine, declared that he will trample down our monarchy, our fundamental laws, and bring about the ruin of our Holy Catholic religion. The only remedy, therefore, for such grievous ills, which are so manifest to all Europe, is in war, which we declare against him. In the name, therefore, of our King, Ferdinand the Seventh, and of all the Spanish nation, we declare war by land and sea against the Emperor Napoleon the First, and against France; we are determined to throw off her domination and tyranny, and command all Spaniards to act hostilely against her, to do her all possible damage according to the laws of war, to place an embargo upon all French ships in our ports, and all property and effects, in whatever part of Spain they may be, whether belonging to the Government or to the individuals of that nation. In the same manner we command that no embarrassment nor molestation be done to the English nation, nor its Government, nor its ships, property, or effects, nor any individual of that nation. We declare that there shall be open and free communication with England, that we have contracted and will keep an armistice with her, and that we hope to conclude a durable and lasting peace. Moreover we protest we will not lay down our arms till the Emperor Napoleon the First has restored to Spain our king, Ferdinand the Seventh, and the rest of the royal family; has respected the sacred rights of the nation, which he has violated, and her liberty, integrity, and independence. With the same understanding and accordance with the Spanish nation, we command that the present solemn declaration be printed, posted, and circulated among all the people and provinces of Spain and America, that it may be known in Europe, Africa, and Asia.

"Given in the royal palace of Alcazar at Seville, this 6th of June, 1808.

"By order of the supreme junta of government.

"MANUEL MARIA AGUILAR, Sec.
"JUAN BAUTISTA PARDO, Sec."

The liveliest sympathy was felt in England for the Spaniards who had risen against the tyrannical usurpation and cruel oppressions of the French. Detestation of the despot who was then bestriding Europe like a Colossus—a strong feeling of self-interest—a resolution to maintain the trade of England—to uphold our naval supremacy, and protect Gibraltar, which Buonaparte eagerly desired to grasp—the fraternal sentiments which the bulk of the British people invariably feel towards men struggling to assert their freedom—and the remembrance of the heroic deeds during the eventful and protracted contest between the Crescent and the Cross in Spain, when Spaniards were the champions of Christendom against the swarthy followers of Mohammed, who attempted the propagation of their faith by the instrumentality of their Arabian swords—all conspired to rouse in this kingdom a strong and general feeling in favour of the Spanish cause :—

> "O lovely Spain! renown'd, romantic land!
> Where is that standard, which Pelagio bore,
> When Cava's traitor-sire first called the band
> That dyed thy mountain-streams with Gothic gore?
> Where are those bloody banners which of yore
> Waved o'er thy sons, victorious to the gale,
> And drove at last the spoilers to their shore?
> Red gleam'd the cross, and waned the crescent pale,
> While Afric's echoes thrill'd with Moorish matron's wail!"

The Marquess Wellesley and other English statesmen at that period were also strongly impressed with the conviction that there was no hope of restoring tranquillity to Europe unless by means of active operations in the Peninsula : it is now universally admitted that the expeditions to Portugal and Spain were mainly instrumental in effecting the ruin of the French Emperor. In the speech delivered to Parliament by the Lords Commissioners at the prorogation of the Houses on the 4th of July, 1808, the following reference was made to the transactions in Spain :—

"The recent transactions in Spain and Italy have exhibited new and striking proofs of the unbounded and unprincipled ambition which actuates the common enemy of every established government and independent nation in the world. His Majesty views with the liveliest interest the loyal and determined spirit manifested by the Spanish nation in resisting the violence and perfidy with which their dearest rights have been assailed. Thus nobly struggling against the tyranny and usurpation of France, the Spanish nation can no longer be considered as the enemy of Great Britain, but is recognised by his Majesty as a natural friend and ally. We are commanded to inform you that communications have been made to his Majesty from several of the provinces of Spain, soliciting the aid of his Majesty. The answer of his Majesty to these communications has been received in Spain with every demonstration of those sentiments of confidence and affection which are congenial to the feelings and true interest of both nations: and his Majesty commands us to assure you that he will continue to make every exertion in his power for the support of the Spanish cause; guided in the choice and in the direction of his exertions by the wishes of those in whose behalf they are employed. In contributing to the success of this just and glorious cause, his Majesty has no other object than that of preserving unimpaired the integrity and independence of the Spanish monarchy. But he trusts that the same efforts which are directed to that great object may, under the blessing of Divine Providence, lead, in their effects and by their example, to the restoration of the liberties and peace of Europe."

On the same day all the Spanish prisoners in the United Kingdom were liberated. They were clothed at the public expense, and sent out to assist their countrymen. Public subscriptions in aid of the people of Spain were commenced; and a very general enthusiasm in favour of the patriots was diffused throughout this kingdom.

In the early part of this year a formidable attack was menaced against Gibraltar, Napoleon being bent upon shutting out British ships from the Mediterranean. The government of the fortress had been entrusted to the father of our present Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria,—his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, who had previously served with the armies in America and the West Indies. That brave and estimable prince being in London at the time, and eager to share with his fellow-countrymen the dangers of the threatened siege, for which the French had commenced preparations at Cadiz, at once applied for permission to proceed to Gibraltar and resume the duties of his office. The application of his Royal Highness was, for some unexplained reason, *not complied with.* Into the causes which thwarted the honourable ambition of the Duke on this occasion it is the less necessary to enter, as the dangers which seemed to impend over Gibraltar were soon dissipated by the perseverance and heroism of the Spanish patriots and the terrors of British bayonets. Annexed is a copy of the Duke of Kent's application to the King, written as soon as the intelligence of Napoleon's hostile intentions against Gibraltar was known in England :—

"SIR,

"The letters received by the mail just arrived from the Mediterranean, having brought the certain information that orders had reached Algeziras from Madrid, immediately to make such preparations in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar as put beyond doubt the intention of the enemy to besiege it, I could not, under such circumstances, reconcile it to my feelings, were I to delay a moment in not only assuring your Majesty of my readiness instantly to go out there, but in earnestly soliciting your sanction for my resuming the duties attached to the commission I have the honour of holding as Governor of that fortress.

"To your Majesty, who yourself possess so nice a sense of honour, it is quite unnecessary for me to represent, that, on the result of your decision upon this request, which I beg leave in the most dutiful, yet in the strongest manner, to press upon your attention, everything most dear to me in life, I mean my *character* as a *man*, and my professional credit as a soldier, are at stake. I will not therefore presume to say more, than that I place *these* in your Majesty's hands with no less confidence in your justice as my sovereign, than in your indulgence as my parent.

"With every sentiment of the most devoted attachment, and the most dutiful respect, I have the honour to subscribe myself, your Majesty's most affectionate son, and most faithful servant and subject,

(Signed) "EDWARD."

Addressed "To the King," &c.

The splendid and decisive victory of Sir Arthur Wellesley over the French force commanded by the Duke d'Abrantes at Vimiera on the 21st of August, 1808, awakened the hopes of the states of Europe held in thraldom by the Emperor; and Austria once more armed against France. Success crowned the British arms on this occasion, and Sir Arthur Wellesley's conduct in the arduous and embarrassing circumstances in which he was placed, earned and received the admiration of the country. By the Convention of Cintra, General Kellerman agreed to evacuate Portugal. But what shall we say of Lord Castlereagh's arrangements, or of the miserable intrigues against which Sir Arthur had to contend, and for the removal of which the Marquess Wellesley had to exert all his influence? "Sir Arthur Wellesley," to quote the words of Lord Henry Petty,* "sailed, conceiving himself to be the Commander-in-Chief of the expedition which was to effect the destruction of the enemy in Portugal; yet six general officers, superior to him in rank, are successively sent out! Having sent General Burrard to supersede General Wellesley, and General Dalrymple to supersede General Burrard, and designing to send another General to supersede General Dalrymple, it is entertaining to see Lord Castlereagh recommending persons so superseding each other to act together in harmony!"

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* The present Marquess Lansdowne, one of the leading members of the late Whig administration.

Immediately after the Convention of Cintra, Sir Arthur Wellesley returned to England, and resumed his duties as Chief Secretary of Ireland, which office he had not resigned on his appointment to the command of the expedition to Portugal.

General Sir John Moore was nominated to the command of forty thousand men, to coöperate with the Spanish forces. General Sir David Baird was placed in command of eleven thousand men assembled at Cork, to be embarked for Spain, and placed under General Moore's orders. On the 13th of October Sir David Baird landed at Corunna, and after some delays effected a junction with the main army.

Napoleon having crushed the power of Austria at the battle of Wagram, now resolved to put forward the whole of his strength in an attempt to subjugate the Peninsula, and drive the British to their ships. He published the following characteristic address to his soldiers:—

"Soldiers! after triumphing on the banks of the Vistula and the Danube, with rapid steps you have passed through Germany. This day without a moment's repose, I command you to traverse France. Soldiers! I have need of you! The hideous presence of the leopard* contaminates the peninsula of Spain and Portugal. In terror he must fly before you. Let us bear our triumphal eagles to the pillars of Hercules, there also we have injuries to avenge! Soldiers! you have surpassed the renown of modern armies, but have you yet equalled the glory of those Romans who, in one and the same campaign, were victorious upon the

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* An epithet Napoleon was wont to apply to England.

Rhine and the Euphrates, in Illyria and upon the Tagus? A long peace, a lasting prosperity, shall be the reward of your labours. A real Frenchman could not, ought not, to rest until the seas are free and open to all. Soldiers! all that you have done, all that you will do, for the happiness of the French people and for my glory, shall be eternal in my heart!"

Into the disasters of the campaign of 1808, it would be an ungrateful task to enter; they were at least relieved by the gallantry of our soldiers at Corunna, and by the heroism of Moore and Baird: the first died on the field,* the second lost an arm from a grape shot as he was leading on his division. Mr. Hookham Frere, a gentleman who had distinguished himself in early life by his contributions to *The Microcosm*, *Musæ Etonenses*, and *The Anti-Jacobin*, had been sent out as Ambassador to the Junta of Spain, and with him went a fleet conveying ten thousand Spanish soldiers under the Marquess Romana, who had been serving with the French armies in Holstein, Jutland, &c. By a clever movement the English Government induced those troops to declare for the national cause; and measures having been concerted between the Marquess Romana and Admiral Keats, they were brought off safely to England. After being equipped from English stores this body of Spanish troops were landed in Biscay. The Spaniards cowered, it is well known, before the French Emperor; and the promises of coöperation which Sir John Moore received were completely falsified. The measures of the British Government and of the Ambassador in Spain, with reference to this expedition, were, after the close of the campaign, severely criticised; and the nation generally concurred in the judgment pronounced by Lord Grenville:—"The conduct of the troops was beyond all praise. They discharged their duty to their country. The failure and slaughter through which they had passed to the last exhibition of their valour, they owed solely to the disastrous councils which employed that valour upon a *frantic and impracticable* object. The fault was in the system and not in the brave men who were charged with the task of executing it." Earl Grey condemned the proceeding of Mr. Hookham Frere in the most pointed manner:—"a gentleman," said his Lordship, "who, whatever may be his talents in other respects, and however painful and unpleasant it may be to me to make the observation, appears to be wholly unqualified, from his folly, ignorance, and presumption, for the high and important station which he at present occupies."

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* "Slowly and sadly we laid him down,
From the field of his fame fresh and gory;
We carved not a line, we raised not a stone,
But we left him alone in his glory!"

Spain in all ages has been described by poets as a land of beauty and fertility;—in the language of romance, teeming with abundance and natural wealth. The Saracen Caliph Walid represented Spain to his rapacious followers, as "Syrian in soil and air; Yemen, in climate; India, in spices and flowers; Hedjaz, in fruits and grain; Cathay, in mines; and Aden for useful coasts, full of cities and magnificent monuments of its ancient kings, and of the Greeks, that wise people."—

"—— it is a goodly sight to see
What Heaven hath done for this delicious land!
What fruits of fragrance blush on every tree!
What goodly prospects o'er the hills expand!"

These visions were very soon dissipated after the arrival of the British army in the Peninsula. They found the land, ravaged by fire and sword, an inhospitable wilderness, filled with wailing and blood, and quite incapable of yielding those supplies necessary for the sustenance of an army. The English were frequently without food, and no adequate exertions were made by the people whose battles they went out to fight, to provide them with the means of subsistence,—although at the same time the British Government was granting extravagant subsidies to the Spanish nation! Indeed, Sir Arthur Wellesley had no sooner landed in Portugal than a demand was made by the Portuguese general for a supply of British provisions for the use of his troops; and both Sir John Moore and Sir David Baird experienced similar ungrateful rapacity and apathy in Spain.

In order to interfere effectually in the Peninsula, it was quite obvious that the whole system of operations should be changed; that the military movements should be placed under the direction of one able general in whom confidence could be reposed, who would be allowed to act without the interference of men at a distance,—unacquainted with practical warfare, necessarily ignorant of the exigencies which govern the motions of a sagacious soldier,—and to carry out his own plans without the fear of being thwarted by others. It was necessary that some prudent and discreet politician of high standing and influence, should be charged with the superintendence of political affairs at Madrid, to urge upon the indolent and vain persons exercising the government of Spain, effectually to exert themselves and assist their British allies. The obvious force of these considerations led to the nomination of the Marquess Wellesley as Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain, and suggested the selection of Sir Arthur Wellesley as General-in-Chief.

CHAPTER II.

Change in the Public Feeling respecting Spain.—Impolitic Arrangements of the Government.— The Armaments to Martinique, Sicily, Malta, and the Scheldt. — Inadequacy of the Force in the Peninsula. — Marquess Wellesley appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain.—Resigns the Appointment on hearing that the Forces are to be sent to Walcheren instead of to Spain.—Mr. Canning induces him again to accept the Office.—Mr. Henry Wellesley resigns his Office of a Secretary of the Treasury.—Sir Arthur Wellesley gives up his Seat in Parliament and his Office of Chief Secretary of Ireland.—Appointed General-in-Chief in the Peninsula.—The Earl of Buckinghamshire, in the House of Lords, objects to the Appointment. — Mr. Whitbread censures the Appointment of the Marquess Wellesley.—Earl of Buckinghamshire eulogises the Object of the Ministers' Choice.— Observations of the *Times*, May 1st, 1809.—Delay of Lord Wellesley in England.—Imputed to Private Contentions of Ministers. — His Lordship's sudden and severe Illness —Lands at Cadiz. — Enthusiasm of the People. — *Edinburgh Review* censures Lord Wellesley for treading on the French Flag.— Observations on the Circumstance. — Mr. Jacob's Account of Lord Wellesley's Reception in Seville.—Instructions to the Marquess Wellesley.—Letter of Mr. Canning.—Remarks on the Walcheren Expedition.—Lord Wellesley to Mr. Canning.—To Don Martin De Garay. —Don Martin's Reply.

THE ardour of the national enthusiasm in favour of Spain was very much abated by the disastrous results of the first Spanish campaign. The miserable dissensions and imbecile conduct of the Spanish Government excited popular disgust, and a loud and general outcry was raised in this kingdom against the Minister to whose vacillating counsel and contradictory instructions the ruin of Sir John Moore's army was ascribed. The Ministry appeared to entertain but faint hopes from any plan of operations in the Peninsula. While they dispatched an expedition of twenty thousand men to Martinique, kept twenty-five thousand in Sicily and Malta, and sent fifty thousand troops under the Earl of Chatham and Sir Richard Strachan to subdue Walcheren and look into the mouth of the Scheldt, they conceived that twenty thousand men were enough to achieve the liberation of Spain! The Marquess Wellesley was strongly of opinion that the Peninsula was the *point d'appui* on which operations for overturning the tyranny of Napoleon could be successfully conducted, and urged the necessity of entering upon the new campaign on a scale commensurate with the dignity of England and the importance of the juncture. Early in the spring of 1809, Mr. Canning, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, by the command of his Majesty, offered to the Marquess Wellesley the post of Ambassador Extraordinary to the Supreme Junta of Spain. Lord Wellesley accepted the appointment agreeably to the King's wishes,—it being understood that a large armament would be sent to the Peninsula under the orders of Sir Arthur Wellesley. Who in Europe was there so fit to grapple with the Emperor of the French as the statesman whose sagacity and energy had foiled all his ambitious projects in India, and whose policy had expelled his armies from Egypt?

At the close of February Sir Arthur resigned his seat in the House of Commons and his office of Chief Secretary of Ireland; and on the 1st of April his appointment as General-in-Chief in the Peninsula was announced in the public prints. On the 14th of

April the Earl of Buckinghamshire called the attention of the House of Lords to this appointment, contending that Sir John Craddock* who was nominated Governor of Gibraltar, had been unfairly passed over. "His Lordship appealed to the House upon the unpleasant situation in which that General was placed, being thus removed from the head of the army at a moment the most critical for the feelings and fame of their commander. To his exertions in collecting the British force, and disposing it so as to prepare a decided resistance against the enemy, it was owing that the resolution of abandoning the country was given up. After all these efforts on his part, and at a time when such a prospect of adding to his military fame was opened to him, could anything be conceived more cruel to an honourable man than to be superseded under such circumstances by an officer so much his junior? What were the reasons for the preference?"

On the 5th of April the Hon. Henry Wellesley resigned his office as one of the Secretaries of the Treasury; and on the 30th of April the following notice appeared in the London Gazette :—

"Foreign Office, April 29, 1809.

"The King has been pleased to appoint the Marquess Wellesley, Knight of the most illustrious Order of St. Patrick, to be his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand the Seventh; and has been pleased to direct him to reside in that character at the seat of the Central or Supreme Junta in Spain."

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* Subsequently Lord Howden.

A gentleman of considerable notoriety in those days urged the following whimsical objections to the appointment of the noble Marquess:—

Mr. Whitbread said "At a time when the people of England were everywhere talking of the injustice of Buonaparte towards Spain, he was surprised at the national blindness to our own aggressions, recently manifested in the choice and approbation of our Ambassador to that country. If there were a man in the universe who, in another part of the globe, had acted as Buonaparte had done with respect to Spain, it was the Marquess Wellesley. His conduct in the East Indies was perfectly similar to that of the French Emperor. The people of Spain, if they knew anything of the affairs of this country, must know what that noble Lord had done in India; but then, all he did there proceeded from an ardent zeal for the public service; while Buonaparte, in acting the same part, was said to have been urged on by the instigation of the devil. They were doubtless the same acts, however dictated by different motives. Be that, however, as it might, the nomination of his Lordship was certainly a bad omen, as the people of Spain must know that the Marquess Wellesley would, if the opportunity should offer, treat both Spain and Portugal as Buonaparte had done, through his ardent zeal for the service of his country!" The selection of Lord Wellesley, nevertheless, was highly satisfactory to the country at large.

[From the *Times*, May 1st, 1809.]

"It is with great pleasure we observed in the Gazette of Saturday the appointment of the Marquess Wellesley as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII., with directions to reside in that character at the seat of the Central or Supreme Junta of Spain.

"We have invariably urged the wisdom and duty of affording to Spain assistance to the full extent of our capacity, not only at the outset of the noble resistance of the Spanish patriots when their cause was *fashionable* in this country, but ever since the unfortunate retreat from Gallicia has in some measure turned the current of public opinion against them. We consider the appointment of the noble Marquess as an unequivocal pledge given to the nation by Ministers that they are resolved to adopt no half measures, to pursue no system of cold or timid precaution, to leave no outlets for irresolution or vacillation, Lord Wellesley cannot be an instrument for such purposes. Whatever opinions may have been formed concerning the political character of the noble Marquess on points which have no bearing now, and which we readily lay aside, all agree in this—that he is a man of superior talents, vigour, and resolution; he possesses one of the cardinal virtues, *fortitude*, which we would at the present moment place above the others, because it is that which the necessities of the times render indispensable."

On the same day on which the above remarks appeared in the *Times*, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, in the House of Lords, spoke of the appointment of the Marquess Wellesley to the Spanish embassy,—the services he had rendered the British Empire in India,—the manner in which he had conducted the wars which had broken out during his administration in that country,—the foresight, energy, and judgment he had displayed,—and, whatever differences might have arisen upon other points, the universal applause and admiration with which his military measures had been distinguished.—" Were I," he said, " to state in one sentence what I thought of Lord Wellesley, I should be inclined to say, that he eminently possesses those qualities to the absence of which in the counsels of his Majesty might be ascribed the disasters of the last campaign, with the fruitless expenditure of eight millions of money, and seven thousand men. Under the contemplation of this appointment, I venture a suggestion from which considerable advantage might be drawn by his Majesty's Ministers; conceiving an alteration in the Provisional Government of Portugal indispensably necessary, I would earnestly recommend that powers should be vested in Marquess Wellesley for the purpose of making those changes which could not be delayed without the most material injury, not only to the interests of that kingdom and to the cause of Spain, but in its consequences to the welfare and security of Great Britain and Ireland."

As soon as the Marquess Wellesley learned from Mr. Canning that the armament which had been collected was directed to proceed to the Scheldt, and not to Spain, he at once tendered his resignation of the proposed mission,—being of opinion that little could be effected with the small body of troops placed at Sir Arthur Wellesley's disposal. At the urgent request of Mr. Canning, however, his Lordship was induced again to accept the embassy, and, four days before the sailing of the memorable "Walcheren expedition," which involved all concerned in so much disgrace, sailed from England, accompanied by his brother, the Hon. Henry Wellesley, who had resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury in order to proceed with the Marquess to Spain.

It is stated in the *Annual Register* of 1809, that the delay which occurred between the appointment and embarkation of the Marquess Wellesley "was occasioned by private contentions of Ministers about the great offices of state." That there were contentions, we readily believe; but it must be mentioned that in the interval between April the 30th and July the 24th, his Lordship was seized with a sudden and severe illness.

The Marquess Wellesley arrived at Cadiz on the 31st of July; and on the fourth morning after the battle of Talavera, while the bells were ringing, the cannon firing, and the people rejoicing with higher hopes than had been felt since the surrender of Dupont, the Marquess Wellesley landed to supersede Mr. Hookham Frere the Ambassador to the existing Government of Spain.

An immense concourse assembled to see his Lordship land, and as he set foot on the shore, a French flag, it was said, was spread before him, that he might tread upon it in honour of his brother's victory. The people drew his carriage, a mark of respect rather unusual in that country. The Marquess gave one of the Spaniards a purse of gold to distribute among his comrades; the man, who was a shoemaker, by name Justo Lobato, immediately returned the purse to his Excellency, and, in the name of the people, assured him "they desired no reward, being happy that they had this opportunity of expressing the genuine sentiments of the whole Spanish nation :—"

> "Adieu, fair Cadiz ! yea, a long adieu !
> Who may forget how well thy walls have stood ?
> When all were changing thou alone wert true,
> First to be free and last to be subdued :
> And if amidst a scene, a shock so rude,
> Some native blood was seen thy streets to dye,
> A traitor only fell beneath the feud:
> Here all were noble, save Nobility ;
> None hugg'd a conqueror's chain, save fallen Chivalry ! "
>
> "Such be the sons of Spain, and strange her fate !
> They fight for freedom who were never free ;
> A kingless people for a nerveless state,
> Her vassals combat when their chieftains flee,
> True to the veriest slaves of Treachery ;
> Fond of a land which gave them nought but life,
> Pride points the path that leads to liberty;
> Back to the struggle, baffled in the strife,
> War ! War ! is still the cry, 'War even to the knife ! " *

The *Edinburgh Review* commented in very severe terms upon Lord Wellesley's conduct in stepping on the French Emperor's flag. Alluding to the report of the occurrence it gravely announces, "We have received it upon authority ourselves, which enables us, however painful it may be, to pledge ourselves to its truth." Now it is rather a suspicious circumstance, that William Jacob, Esq. M.P., F.R.S., who was at Seville at the time, says not one word on the subject, in his interesting letters from Spain in 1809. Even if the statement had been true, it might, one would have supposed, have been set down to the enthusiasm of an excited populace of rather a romantic turn, rather than made an article of impeachment against the British Envoy. Mr. Jacob gives the following account of the Marquess Wellesley's reception in Seville :—

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* "War to the knife," Palafox's answer to the French General at the siege of Saragoza.

"The arrival of this celebrated nobleman in Seville produced an extraordinary sensation,—a sensation certainly neither prepared nor fostered by the body to whom he was sent, whose narrow souls were jealous of his character, and apprehensive lest his powerful talents should detect and expose their contracted policy and futile projects. All the respectable inhabitants of the city, among whom were many of those men whose information, patriotism, and energetic minds, had planned and effected the first revolution, became the leaders on this occasion also, and conducted the triumphal entry of the British Minister. Seville was emptied of its population, and the expecting crowds patiently endured, without the city, the heat of the sun, the privation of their meals and of their siesta, and tranquilly waited from morning till dark to welcome the approach of a man whose high rank and distinguished capacity were considered as pledges of the generous and disinterested intentions of the monarch he represented.

"The shouts of the people, and the acclamations of the multitude, were genuine and unequivocal demonstrations of the strong feelings of the nation ; but the conduct of their rulers discovered merely that routine of compliments which the hollow intrigues of a court may teach,—but what he, who had ruled such courts in

India, knew how to appreciate. The welcome of Lord Wellesley had, perhaps, been increased by the news of his brother's victory at Talavera; but at Seville all was unmixed pure joy at the arrival of a man whose nation was venerated, whose character had preceded him, and to whose high qualities they looked up for deliverance from the government of a body of men fortuitously raised to the unlimited exercise of the executive and legislative power of a great nation."

The intentions of the Government with reference to Spain, will be best explained by the following extracts from the instructions to the Marquess Wellesley:—

"June 27th, 1809.

"You will exert your utmost endeavours to maintain the best understanding with the Spanish Government, and to satisfy them of the deep and lively interest which we take in the welfare of Spain, and in the success of the cause in which the Spanish nation is engaged.

"You will profess our earnest desire to fulfil to the utmost extent all the duties of our alliance with the Spanish Government, and to assist them in bringing the war to a fortunate conclusion, by the restoration of their lawful Sovereign, and the establishment of a just and sufficient security for the independence and integrity of the Spanish monarchy.

"You will avoid any appearance of a desire to interfere unnecessarily with the internal concerns and interests of Spain. But as in the issue of the present momentous contest, in which the interests of the two countries are inseparably blended, much, if not everything, must depend upon the vigour and energy with which the persons at the head of affairs in Spain call forth and employ the resources of that country; as the opportunity now presented for such exertions as may place the country in a state of absolute security is one of which the utmost advantage ought to be made, both in point of military activity and political and civil arrangements;—as the Central Junta itself has recently evinced its own conviction of the necessity of extraordinary diligence and attention to these important objects; and as they have uniformly professed a desire to receive the assistance and advice of the British Government in every point of common interest, you will not decline any occasion of offering a fair and unreserved opinion upon such questions, either of a political or civil nature; or of urging in the strongest manner such arrangements as may appear to you necessary for the effectual prosecution of the war on the part of Spain, and for the administration of the internal affairs of the Government in the manner the most conducive to the welfare of the nation and to the preservation of the monarchy. You will at the same time be perfectly aware of the suspicions which might be excited, and of the disadvantage which might arise to the common cause and to the harmony of the two Governments, if there should appear anything too authoritative in the manner of delivering such opinions as you may feel yourself called upon to deliver, and you will, in your discretion, consult the jealousy natural to a new government, and to a delegated and unconfirmed authority.

"In matters of internal government, and in questions of commerce, you will avail yourself of any proper occasion, generally, to recommend a more enlarged and liberal policy than has heretofore been acted upon in Spain, strongly recommending, however, that whatever changes it may be thought right to introduce in the system by which the Government of Spain has been carried on, should be well weighed and digested previously to the actual assembling of the Cortez, so as to be propounded to them for their adoption, with the previous sanction and authority of the Junta, rather than that the whole of so vast and complicated a subject should be thrown loose before that assembly, without any settled plan by which their deliberations may be guided.

"You will observe, that the removal of such grievances or restrictions on political and personal liberty as the Junta may already have made up their minds to recommend, if granted soon, would tend to give weight and energy to the authority of the Government; whereas if all such boons are deferred to the Assembly of the Cortez, the intermediate period may witness the decline of the popularity and authority of the Junta, and therewith impair the means of carrying on the war with effect, and maintaining the kingdom against the usurpation of the enemy."

On the same date Mr. Canning addressed a letter to the Marquess Wellesley, from which the subjoined is an extract:—

"Foreign Office, June 27th, 1809.

"The instructions with which Sir Arthur Wellesley has been furnished (copies of which are herewith enclosed), leave to that Commander a latitude to pursue his operations into Spain, so far as may be not inconsistent with the defence and security of Portugal. In exercising this discretion he will of course concert his movements with the Spanish General nearest to the Portuguese frontier. He will be directed to keep your Excellency constantly informed of all his movements; and your Excellency will, in any such case, procure from the Spanish Government such instructions to be given to their General as may aid Sir Arthur Wellesley's plan, and secure the cordial coöperation of the two armies. But these points are of too partial a nature to require the negotiation of a regular treaty for their arrangement.

"The case for any negotiation of such a kind could only arise, if at any future period an operation upon a larger scale should be undertaken by a British force in Spain, for the purpose of clearing the Peninsula altogether of French force; and establishing, after the accomplishment of that object, such a system of military defence as should not only afford a permanent security to the frontiers of Spain, but enable the Spaniards, in some supposable events, to carry their arms beyond the Pyrenees, and become themselves the assailants.

"*The period for such an undertaking is certainly not yet arrived, and the destination of the disposable military force of this country, at the present moment, to other objects more immediately connected with the war on the continent of Europe, and calculated to operate a diversion in favour of Austria, will probably be considered by the Spanish Government itself as of* *more instant necessity and more obvious advantage.*

"Should the efforts of Austria unfortunately prove unavailing, or should they, on the other hand, so far succeed as to leave the force of this country free for more distant operations,—in one or other of these cases, the necessity or the temptation might arise for the employment of a large British force in Spain. But it is only in one or other of these cases that your Excellency can be authorised to hold out any expectation of an augmentation of the British army now in the Peninsula, beyond such reinforcements as are already destined for it, (a statement of which is herewith enclosed,) or of an extension of its operations beyond the limits assigned in Sir Arthur Wellesley's last instructions."

Failure and disgrace followed the Walcheren expedition, in which a force was employed, which if sent to the Peninsula, according to the original comprehensive plan of the Marquess Wellesley, would have swept the French in one campaign from Spain and Portugal. The number of troops embarked for the Scheldt were upwards of thirty-nine thousand effective men,—the naval armament, consisting of thirty-five sail of the line, two fifty-gun brigs, three of forty-four guns, eighteen frigates, and one hundred and seventy-nine smaller vessels, together with a large proportion of such craft as are employed in dockyards! This magnificent armada was placed under the command of the Earl of Chatham, brother of Mr. Pitt; and the naval squadron was commanded by Sir Richard Strachan, both unknown to fame. The Earl of Chatham owed his appointment to a court intrigue, which has often, in the history of modern Europe, ruined many a more promising enterprise. He had been removed from the office of First Lord of the Admiralty during his brother's administration on account of his indolence, and was then known as the *late* Lord Chatham, because his hour of rising was usually in the afternoon. The whole operations of the campaign were tersely summed up in the following stanza:—

> "With sword in hand the Earl of Chatham
> Was waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;—
> Sir Richard longing to be at 'em,
> Was waiting for the Earl of Chatham!"

Immediately after his arrival at Seville, Lord Wellesley made the following communication to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in London:—

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE CANNING, &C.

"Seville, August 11th, 1809.

"SIR,

"1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of his Majesty's commands contained in your several dispatches, of which I enclose a list.

"2. On the 24th of July I embarked at Portsmouth on board his Majesty's ship *Donegal*, and arrived off Cadiz on the 31st, in the evening; I immediately dispatched the messenger Basset with the packets which you had entrusted to my care for Mr. Frere, and with a letter to him apprising him of my arrival, and requesting him to notify it to the Supreme Junta in the most respectful manner. By the same conveyance I also addressed a letter to Sir Arthur Wellesley, expressing my desire to receive from him such communications as he might think it proper to make to me upon the public service.

"3. In the morning of the 1st of August, as I was preparing to land, I received verbally from Lieut.-Colonel Doyle intelligence of the actions which had taken place at Talavera de la Reyna on the 27th and 28th of July, and of the glorious success of his Majesty's troops under the command of Sir A. Wellesley on that memorable occasion. No official advices of those events having reached me, and being satisfied that the most accurate and early intelligence of the operations of the British and Spanish armies must already have been transmitted to England by Sir Arthur Wellesley and Mr. Frere, I did not attempt to forward any dispatch to you with the imperfect statements, alone at that time in my possession.

"4. I was received at Cadiz with every demonstration of public honour, and with the most cordial and enthusiastic expressions of veneration for his Majesty's person and respect for his Government, of zealous attachment to the British alliance, and of affectionate gratitude for the benefits already derived by the Spanish nation from the generosity of his Majesty's councils, and from the persevering activity, valour, and skill of his officers and troops.

"5. The difficulty of obtaining a house at Seville detained me for several days at Cadiz, during which time I had the satisfaction to receive continual and distinguished marks of attention and respect towards his

Majesty's embassy from every description of the public authorities, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, and from every class of the nobility, gentry, and people.

"6. The same happy disposition and temper were displayed in every part of the country through which I passed on my road to Seville, and in my reception at the residence of the Supreme Government of Spain, on this day.

"7. The manifestations of this spirit of friendship and union have been so general and so evidently sincere, that I feel myself bound to submit this detail to his Majesty's gracious notice: and I discharge a grateful duty in assuring you, that the sentiments which have been uniformly declared in my presence by all ranks of the Spanish nation towards his Majesty, are scarcely surpassed by their acknowledged loyalty and affection for the person of their own Sovereign.

"8. During my residence at Cadiz I endeavoured to obtain information on several points of the orders which I have had the honour to receive from you. I shall take an early opportunity of submitting to your judgment my sentiments and proceedings on those important branches of my instructions.

"9. Immediately after my arrival at this place, I sent the enclosed note to Don Martin de Garay (to whom I had addressed a private note from Cadiz). He has returned a verbal answer, signifying his intention of visiting me at my house in the course of this evening. I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect, Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

"WELLESLEY."

[Enclosure.]

TO HIS EXCELLENCY DON MARTIN DE GARAY, &C.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform your Excellency of my arrival at this Residency: I request your Excellency's permission to pay my personal respects to you as soon as may be suitable to your convenience. I have the honour to be, &c., WELLESLEY."

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO DON MARTIN DE GARAY.

"Seville, August 12th, 1809.

"The undersigned, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from his Britannic Majesty, has the honour to represent to his Excellency the Secretary of State, the indispensable necessity of adopting immediate measures for the aid of the operations of the British army in the present crisis.

"1st. It is absolutely necessary to bring into action, without delay, the corps of the Marquess Romana, of the Duque del Parque, and any force which can be moved in the north of Spain, or in the vicinity of Madrid, for the purpose of compelling the enemy to reduce his strength in Estremadura, and of enabling the allied armies to resume offensive operations. The undersigned requests that immediate and effectual orders be issued for this purpose.

"2dly. The British troops cannot maintain even a defensive position, unless the supply of provisions and the means of transport be regularly established. The undersigned therefore requests, that magazines of provisions be immediately formed at such places in the rear of the allied armies as he shall point out; and that supplies of biscuit, sheep, and oxen, and also of barley, be regularly conveyed to those magazines, according to the plan which he shall furnish.

"3dly. The undersigned further requests that measures be taken, without delay, to supply the British army with means of transport, as well for the purpose of moving the magazines, as of enabling the army to communicate with them, and to send to any part of the country for supplies of provision or forage. For these objects, the undersigned requests that immediate orders be given for supplying to the British army a number of mules to the amount of one thousand five hundred, and of Valencian or Catalonian carts to the amount of one hundred, according to such a plan as the undersigned shall suggest.

"The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to offer the assurances of his high consideration to his Excellency Don Martin de Garay. WELLESLEY."

DON MARTIN DE GARAY TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Seville, 12th August, 1809.

"SIR,

"I have presented to the Supreme Central Junta, of which I have the honour to be Secretary and Member, the note which your Excellency did me the honour to transmit with the date of to-day, relative to various points, respecting which I will reply to your Excellency with the brevity which the time and circumstances require.

"Notwithstanding that by an express sent yesterday for this purpose, an order had been given to the General Commandant of Gallicia and the Asturias, and the Duque del Parque, that putting themselves in motion, they should come down towards Castille, and taking the direction of the Capital, should compel the French to diminish their forces, to attend to this diversion, and allow the combined armies to act on the offensive; the Junta has thought it peculiarly its duty to repeat these same orders; and, communicating them by the corresponding Minister, to direct them to your Excellency: this I now do, in order that your Excellency may use them as you please. In them it is repeated to the aforesaid Commandants, that they are to act without delay, as I communicate, and as your Excellency desires.

"Before this period all the necessary arrangements had been made, that nothing might be wanting to the British troops; however, these same orders are now renewed; commissaries and persons of entire confidence are sent, who will take care that nothing shall be wanting to the said army, establishing magazines where it may be advantageous, and where your Excellency thinks convenient; the said commissaries go with ample powers and funds to provide and prepare all the succours that are necessary, and which the scarcity of the country may permit, which, desolated by the enemy, sacked by the soldiers, having suffered the weight of war for eight months, and not being moreover of the most fruitful, is not in a state to supply all that might be desirable. The efforts of the commissaries and the zeal of those who are employed, will supply the want of means. In the same manner the Commissaries are on the point of immediate departure, in order to be able to facilitate the competent number of mules and carriages for the armies, although the difficulty of assembling as many as are desired is known. The rapacity of the enemy, and his care in removing animals of draft, render the collection more difficult; it will be endeavoured to effect it by means of purchases at proper prices, for which purpose Commissioners depart to-morrow, as also the number of carts which your Excellency requires, which can only be of this country, where it is considered to construct them in the Catalonian or Valencian manner would cause infinite delay in the operations of the army. Finally, the Junta, convinced of the urgent necessity of repelling and removing the common enemy, will not spare means, diligence, or expense, to contribute on their part to the enabling the armies of both powers to act on the offensive.

"Your Excellency will be convinced of the good faith of the Junta, of the efforts of the nation, and of the necessity, now greater than ever, of re-union for the purpose of driving the enemy from this part of Spain.

"The Junta is persuaded that your Excellency will interest yourself with General Wellesley, in order that he may coöperate in desires so just, convinced as your Excellency must be, how prejudicial it would prove for the enemy, in these circumstances, to obtain advantages in Estremadura and the Andalusias.

"The Junta requests your Excellency to communicate these orders to General Beresford, that he, with the troops under his command, may assist in furthering this enterprise.

"I seize this opportunity of manifesting to your Excellency, &c. MARTIN DE GARAY."

The following facetious lines are in the original MS. of *Childe Harolde*;—

"Ye who would more of Spain and Spaniards know,
Sights, saints, antiques, arts, anecdotes, and war,
Go! hie ye hence to Paternoster Row—
Are they not written in the book of Carr?

"There you may read, with spectacles on eyes,
How many Wellesleys did embark for Spain,
As if therein they meant to colonize,
How many troops y-cross'd the laughing main
That ne'er beheld the said return again;
How many buildings are in such a place,
How many leagues from this to yonder plain,
How many relics each cathedral grace,
And where Giralda stands on her gigantic base.

"There may you read (O Phœbus, save Sir John!
That these my words prophetic may not err)
All that was said or sung, or lost or won,
By vaunting Wellesley or by blundering Frere,
He that wrote half the 'Needy Knife-grinder.'
Thus poesy the way to grandeur paves.
Who would not such diplomatists prefer?
But cease, my muse, thy speed some respite craves;
Leave Legates to their house, and armies to their graves!

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* Byron fell into some errors respecting the Wellesleys, which shall be referred to hereafter.

CHAPTER III.

Retreat of the British after the Battle of Talavera. — Operations of Marshal Soult. — Position of the British at Deleytosa. — The Ambassador Extraordinary opens Correspondence with Sir Arthur Wellesley.— Observations of Mr. Wilberforce on Marquess Wellesley's Letters.— Remarks of Lord Holland as mentioned by Lord Brougham.—Marquess Wellesley to Sir Arthur.—The General to Marquess Wellesley, complaining of the Neglect and Apathy of the Spanish Government.— British Troops in a State of Starvation. — Sir Arthur Wellesley expostulates with Cuesta.—Declares he will, if not assisted, retire from Spain.—Representations of the British Ambassador and General unheeded.—Resignation of the Spanish Commander-in-Chief.—The Marquess Wellesley addresses Mr. Canning at length, on the Prospects of the Spanish Cause, and the State of the British Army in the Peninsula.

On the day following the battle of Talavera Sir Arthur Wellesley was joined by three thousand troops under General Craufurd, who performed a forced march of *sixty-two English miles* in twenty-six hours. On the 2nd of August, however, as Sir Arthur was preparing to march to Madrid, intelligence reached him that Marshal Soult, with thirty-four thousand men, had penetrated through Puerto de Baños without opposition, the Spanish army having abandoned the place without firing a shot. General Wellesley had by this time learnt the value of the Spanish troops; the artillery was in good order, but both the cavalry and artillery were unfit to perform movements under an enemy's fire. On the 3rd of August, therefore, the British army made a retrograde movement and fell back to the southern bank of the Tagus. They remained undisturbed in their position for nearly a month; their head-quarters resting at Deleytosa. Sir Arthur Wellesley was at that place when the Ambassador Extraordinary opened correspondence with him.

Mr. Wilberforce, in the year 1833, in referring to this remarkable series of public letters, observed to one of his friends, "I suppose you have never seen them: but when the Duke of Wellington commanded in Spain, and his brother the Marquess Wellesley was sent to conduct the negotiation, the papers containing the dispatches of the two brothers were printed by Parliament, and I remember thinking, that I had never seen anything at all equal to them in talent."*

Lord Brougham records an anecdote which shows how fully Lord Holland coincided with this opinion:—"In 1809, the Marquess Wellesley was prevailed upon to accept the embassy to Spain; and the large and enlightened views which he soon took of all the questions of Spanish policy were, when made known to those most familiar with the affairs of the Peninsula, the subject of wonder and of unmixed applause. I have heard Lord Holland and Mr. Allen, with both of whom he freely corresponded on those matters, declare that he was the person whom they had ever known who most impressed them with the idea of a great statesman."

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* *Vide* the Life of Wilberforce by his sons, the Rev. Robert Isaac Wilberforce, M. A., and the Right Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

"Seville, 13th August, 1809.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your several despatches noted in the margin; and Mr. Frere's correspondence with me, including copies of your letters addressed to him, has afforded me the necessary information respecting the general situation of affairs in Spain, and the operations and conditions of the British and Spanish armies.

"Immediately after my arrival at this place, and even before I had been admitted to an audience by the Supreme Junta, I employed every endeavour to induce the Government to adopt the measures and arrangements suggested in your letter of the 8th of August.

"For this purpose I yesterday presented a note to the Secretary of State, of which the enclosed is a copy; and last night I received an answer, of which I also enclose a copy for your information.

"The orders to the Duque del Parque* were trans-

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* TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM M. CORNEL TO THE DUQUE DEL PARQUE.

"Royal Castle of Seville, 12th August, 1809.

"SIR,

"Notwithstanding the royal order, which I communicated to you in the night of yesterday, that combining your arrangements with the Marshal General Beresford, and expediting another order to the General Commandant of the army of Gallicia, who ought already to have entered into your district, *all the troops should make a rapid movement on the Puerto de Baños, which appears the most practicable point for distracting the attention of our enemies, who are harassing the Anglo-Spanish army.* His Majesty desires, that having overcome all the difficulties which may mitted to you by an express courier this evening, and I am inclined to believe that this Government is disposed to make every effort compatible with its powers, with the state of the country, and with the inveterate defects of the military department in Spain.

" *You are, however, sufficiently aware of the impossibility of relying upon such efforts, unless a regular system can be established under such authorities as may secure its efficiency and seasonable operation; and although you may be assured that I will omit no endeavour to contribute to the establishment of such a system, I cannot entertain a confident expectation of success.*

" It is evident, that in order to secure to your army the articles which you require, supplies must be drawn from remote sources, to such points as may be properly calculated for the establishment of magazines; and that your means of transport and of movement cannot now be furnished from the countries in which your army is acting. I have therefore advised this Government to call forth every resource of the southern provinces of Spain, and to convey the requisite articles in the first instance to Santa Elalia, a place in the rear of Monartino, where I understand a magazine might be formed with advantage.

" From this magazine you might draw forward your supplies to any other points which you might think

present themselves, you should regulate with the aforesaid Marshal-General a prompt march, and should repeat to the aforesaid General Commandant of the army of Gallicia the order to the same effect, indicating to him the nearest point at which the forces can be united.

" I make it known to your Excellency by the royal order, that you may fulfil it, &c. CORNEL."

fit to indicate; but the efficiency of the whole arrangement must depend in a great degree upon the proper selection and control of the agents for the collection and conveyance of the several articles required for your use.

"Under a serious and painful impression of the difficulties of your situation, and of the sufferings of your army, I feel the indispensable necessity of communicating with you on the most minute details of the subject of your distress; and I therefore forward this dispatch to you under the care of Brigadier-General Doyle and of Major Armstrong, to whom I request you to state all the circumstances of your situation, and every point connected with the means of relieving your wants, and of securing you against similar inconvenience, if you should think it practicable or advisable to remain in Spain.

"As soon as these officers shall be fully apprised of your wishes and intentions, I request that you will direct them to return to me with your dispatches. In the meanwhile I shall not fail to use every exertion to accelerate the efforts of this Government for your relief.

"You may be assured that I shall take a proper opportunity of representing to this Government the defects of the Spanish army, which you describe in your dispatch of the 8th of August.

"I shall also recommend to this Government *the defensive plan of operations* which you advise for the future conduct of the Spanish armies.

"I have informed Don Martin de Garay of the absolute necessity of communicating solely and exclusively with the British Ambassador, and he has assured me that he will hereafter adhere without deviation to the rule established in that respect by his Majesty's commands. I have already acquainted you with the representation which I have addressed to this Government on the subject of the distress of your army, and of the answer which I have received.

"Under the discretionary power which you were pleased to leave to me, I have sent your second letter on the subject of the rank of Captain-General in the Spanish army to Don Martin de Garay. If it should be his Majesty's pleasure that you should not permanently hold that rank, the mode which you have adopted in that letter affords a sufficient opportunity for the operation of his Majesty's commands; and I am satisfied that this course of proceeding will be more agreeable to this Government than that which was proposed in your first letter. I have forwarded to Don M. de Garay your letter respecting the horses presented to you by the Junta, and also concerning the pay of Captain-General.

"I have received with great concern the description contained in these letters of the distress of your army, and of the perverse conduct of General Cuesta. This Government is disposed to remove General Cuesta from his command whenever it shall have received from you, or from the British Ambassador, a regular and detailed statement of his misconduct. It is my intention to present to the Secretary of State a recital of the several facts stated in your dispatches respecting General Cuesta; but, in my judgment, it would not appear to me to be proper that I should directly insist upon his removal As far as I can collect your sentiments upon this point, they appear to coincide with mine. It is not to be supposed that this Government will continue to employ General Cuesta in the chief command of the army after having received full notice of the several facts which you have stated; and I am satisfied that his removal would be made with more cheerfulness and alacrity, and with less danger of unpopularity, if it should appear to be rather the necessary consequence of his own conduct than the result of the interference of the British Ambassador. I have the honour to be, &c., WELLESLEY."

In a letter from Sir Arthur Wellesley to the Marquess Wellesley, dated "Jaraicejo, August 13th, 1809," the General writes as follows:—

"I have the honour to enclose an answer which I have received from General Cuesta to the letter which I addressed to him on the 11th instant, with my reply of this date. The plan which he proposes, *of dividing between the two armies, in proportion to their numbers, all the provisions received at Truxillo,* however specious in appearance, would be fallacious in practice, and would probably starve the British army. It would not be difficult to forbid the convoys of provisions coming from Seville from going to Truxillo; and it is probable that the supplies of provisions from Seville do not amount to one-fourth of the consumption of both armies,—the remainder being supplied by the country, in which of course the Spanish army has the preference. An arrangement of this description is impracticable of execution, even if the commissaries of the two armies would act fairly by each other; but this is not to be expected: every commissary will do the best he can for the troops to which he is attached; and many articles must be procured in the country which will not be brought to account in the magazine of Truxillo.

"In short, my Lord, it comes to this,—either the British army must be fed with the necessaries which it requires, or I will march it back into Portugal, whether that kingdom is invaded or not by the French corps which have moved within these few days towards Placencia."

The General adds in a postscript—

"I beg to mention to your Excellency that the troops have received, this day and yesterday, only half an allowance of bread; and the cavalry no forage except what they can pick up in the fields. The troops suffer considerably for the want of salt; and neither officers or soldiers have had any wine for the last fortnight. In case I should move, I must leave behind me two-thirds of the small quantity of ammunition I have got; having been obliged to give all the Portuguese carts (which had carried the ammunition hitherto) to move the wounded; and not having been able to procure means of transport for anything in this country.

"Surely, my Lord, the Junta have had time since the 19th of last month, to supply the wants of the army, with which they were then made acquainted!"

Sir Arthur Wellesley, writing to General Cuesta, remarks:—

"When the British army entered Spain I had reason to expect, and I expected that a great effort would be made to afford us at least subsistence for payment, and those means of transport and other aids, without which your Excellency is well aware nothing can keep the field. Your Excellency also knows how these expectations have been fulfilled. Since I joined your army, the troops have not received upon an average half a ration, and on some days nothing at all; and the cavalry no forage or grain, excepting what they could pick up in the fields, of an unwholesome description, by the use of which hundreds of horses have died. I can procure no means of transport, and your Excellency knows that I have been obliged to leave some ammunition in the mountains, of which you have possession; and if I should now move, I must leave behind me two-thirds of the small quantity of ammunition I have got, having been obliged to allot the Portuguese carts (which have moved it hitherto) to the purpose of removing the wounded soldiers."

"The fire of the enemy, and the badness and scarcity of food, have destroyed many of my artillery horses; and I have asked, but in vain, for some assistance of this description. The consequence is, that I shall be obliged to destroy many guns when I shall move from hence.

"I have not received even an answer to the request I made, to have a remount for the cavalry, of only one hundred mares, which would be entirely useless to the Spanish cavalry.

"*Under all these circumstances your Excellency cannot be surprised that I should think that the British* *army has been neglected and ill treated; or at the determination which I now communicate to you, that whatever may be the consequences to the valuable interests to which you refer in your letter, I will march them back into Portugal, if they are not more regularly and more plentifully supplied with provisions and forage, and with the means of transport and other aids which they require.*

The difficulties which beset the Spanish cause at this crisis and obstructed the policy of the British Ambassador are vividly depicted in the subjoined note :—

LIEUT.-GENERAL THE HON. SIR A. WELLESLEY, K. B., TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, K. P.

"Deleytosa, 8th August, 1809.

"MY DEAR WELLESLEY,

"The public dispatches which I transmit with this letter will give you a full and faithful picture of the state of affairs here. You have undertaken an Herculean task; and God knows that the chances of success are infinitely against you, particularly since the unfortunate turn which affairs have taken in Austria.

"I wish I could see you, or could send somebody to you; but we are in such a situation, that I cannot go to you myself, and I cannot spare the only one or two people, to converse with whom would be of any use to you. I think therefore, that the best thing you can do is to send somebody to me as soon as you can,—that is to say, if I remain in Spain, which I declare I believe to be almost impossible, notwithstanding that I see all the consequences of withdrawing. But a starving army is actually worse than none. The soldiers lose their discipline and their spirit. They plunder even in the presence of their officers. The officers are discontented, and are almost as bad as the men; and with the army which a fortnight ago beat double their numbers, I should now hesitate to meet a French corps of half their strength.

"Send somebody, however, by the road of Merida and Truxillo, at both of which places he must hear of me. Believe me, &c., ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

The repeated remonstrances of the British Ambassador and the General were unheeded. The resignation of the imbecile Cuesta from the command of the Spanish army, however, gave reason to hope for a better system than had hitherto prevailed. The posture of affairs in Spain at this crisis is ably exhibited in the following dispatch to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs:—

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE G. CANNING.

"Seville, August 15th, 1809.

"SIR,

"1. M. de Garay visited me in the evening of the 11th instant according to the intimation which I had received from him. The conference commenced with mutual expressions of solicitude to cultivate harmony and good intelligence for the purpose of facilitating the dispatch of public business, and of promoting the objects of the alliance, and the prosperity of the common cause.

"2. I availed myself of this occasion to state the general tenor of my instructions; I particularly explained my disposition, according to the spirit of his Majesty's commands, to regulate the extent of my communications on matters of internal concern and administration, within such limits as might be agreeable to the Government of Spain, professing at the same time my readiness to state to the Supreme Central Junta without reserve my sentiments on every point of whatever description connected with the reciprocal interests of our respective Sovereigns and nations, whenever such a freedom of communication might appear to be necessary or acceptable.

"3. This declaration was received with apparent satisfaction, and the course of conversation immediately turned to the state of the campaign in Spain, and especially to the condition of the British army.

"4. My attention had been fixed on this painful subject even by the earliest intelligence of the success of our arms at Talavera. The first rumours which had reached me of the splendid achievements of Sir Arthur Wellesley and his Majesty's gallant troops were accompanied by such alarms respecting the state of their supplies and means of movement, as mixed a considerable degree of concern and solicitude with the sentiments naturally inspired by the extraordinary and glorious circumstances of that brilliant victory.

"5. My anxiety was further increased by the dispatches which Mr. Frere had been so attentive as to address to me during my detention at Cadiz, and on the journey to Seville; and the reply of Sir Arthur Wellesley to my letter of the 31st of July, exhibited the most afflicting view of the condition of the British army in Spain.

"6. Mr. Frere informs me that he has transmitted in duplicate to you the copies of the dispatches which he addressed to me. I have therefore thought it sufficient to refer to their dates in the margin of this dispatch.

"7. I enclose copies of Sir Arthur Wellesley's dispatches from the 8th to the 12th of August inclusive, with a copy of a letter which I forwarded to that officer by a courier on the 13th instant, and of another forwarded under the care of Lieut.-Colonel Doyle and Major Armstrong. I shall have occasion to request your attention to many parts of this correspondence, but its most important and prominent feature is the severe distress of the British army, arising from the defect of its supplies and means of movement.

"8. Sir Arthur Wellesley's first letter of the 8th instant, reached me on the 11th in the morning, as I approached to the city of Seville; and although M. de Garay informed me that the Supreme Junta could not grant me an audience during that night, and had formally fixed the 13th instant for the delivery of my letters of credence, the urgency of the occasion appeared to me to require an immediate application to the Government. Under this impression I entered fully into the discussion of the situation and wants of the army in my conference with M. de Garay on the night of the 11th. On the 12th I presented the official note, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy, and on the same night I received the answer, of which a translation is also enclosed.

"9. The dispatches which you will receive from Mr. Frere will apprise you of the circumstances which compelled the British army to retire to a defensive position behind the Tagus; Sir Arthur Wellesley in his letter to me of the 8th instant, refers to his dispatch addressed to Lord Castlereagh under date the 8th of August, for a full explanation of that movement. He then proceeds to state the necessity that the Spanish forces stationed in the northern provinces of Spain should be brought into action for the purpose of drawing the attention of the enemy to that quarter, and of relieving Estremadura from the pressure of the concentrated French army which had been brought into combination against the allied forces of his Majesty and of Spain on the banks of the Tagus. In the same letter Sir Arthur Wellesley represents in the strongest terms the necessity of forming magazines of provisions and forage in the rear of the armies, and also of providing mules and other means of transport for the purpose of securing the supply and movement of the troops. This letter also recommends several improvements of a less pressing nature for the regulation of the Spanish troops, and states the outline of a defensive system of war for the adoption of the Spanish Government.

"10. The matters of most pressing exigency contained in this letter formed the substance of my note of the 11th instant to M. de Garay, and from the answer you will perceive with satisfaction that immediate attention was paid to my representation. I have reason to believe that great exertion has since been made by this Government for the purpose of giving speedy effect to the plan which I proposed, and that I shall be permitted to superintend the completion of the several details necessary to the commencement of an improved system of supply and movement for the troops in the field. But the impoverished state of the country, the weakness of the Government, and the inveterate defects of the military department in Spain, render any speedy improvement impracticable, and induce me to apprehend great difficulty even in the ultimate success of any plan which can now be suggested.

"11. In Sir Arthur Wellesley's letter (No. 2) of the same date, received also on the 11th, the description of the distress of the army occasioned by the want of provisions, is in the highest degree afflicting. Sir Arthur Wellesley concludes this letter by stating that he must render justice to Mr. Frere in declaring that he does not conceive this deficiency of supplies for the army to be at all imputable to any neglect or omission on the part of Mr. Frere; Sir Arthur Wellesley imputes this calamity to the poverty and exhausted state of the country, to the indolence and timidity of the magistrates, to the insubordination and disobedience of the people, and to the want of authority in the Government and its officers.

"12. To the causes which have produced and augmented the sufferings of the army must be added the perverse and intractable disposition of General Cuesta, the Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish troops acting with Sir Arthur Wellesley. Of this disposition you will find innumerable proofs in Sir Arthur Wellesley's letters, especially in (Nos. 4, 5, and 6,) of the 9th, 10th, and 12th of August.

"13. These unhappy circumstances have contributed to produce an unfavourable result in the state of the campaign.

"14. In a letter dated the 9th, Sir Arthur Wellesley forwards a dispatch from Lieut.-Colonel Roche, written on the preceding day from Paraleda de Garvin, stating that the enemy had attacked the bridge of Arzobispo on the Tagus, having previously passed that river at a ford immediately above the bridge; and that preparations were making by General Cuesta to retire to La Mesa D'Ibor. This was the first intimation that Sir Arthur Wellesley had received of the removal of General Cuesta's head-quarters from the bridge of Arzobispo. The Duque of Alburquerque, who arrived at Deleytosa the same evening, gave an account to Sir Arthur Wellesley of the operations by which the enemy had gained possession of the bridge and of the cannon destined to defend it, together with five pieces of artillery belonging to the Duque's division, and stated it as his opinion that the French were that morning at Paraleda de Garvin, where General Cuesta's head-quarters had been the preceding evening; an aide-de-camp of General Cuesta and Colonel Roche came in soon after, and from the account which they gave of the Spanish army, Sir Arthur Wellesley was apprehensive that they must lose the greater part of their artillery; he wrote immediately to General O'Donohue pointing out the steps which should be taken to save it, and strongly urged the necessity of withdrawing the heavy artillery behind the passes of the mountains.

"15. The letter of the 10th (No. 5) was written after having visited General Cuesta's head-quarters. The whole of the Spanish artillery and waggons had then crossed the river Ibor, and about half of them had been drawn up the mountain to a place of security.

"16. The last letter from Sir Arthur Wellesley is dated on the morning of the 12th from Jaraicejo. No French troops had then re-crossed the Tagus, excepting those which remained immediately at the bridge of Arzobispo. On the 9th, 10th, and 11th, large columns of the French were seen in motion towards Placencia, from which movement Sir Arthur Wellesley concluded that the enemy was apprehensive either of the Duque del Parque's troops, or those of General Beresford in the mountains of Baños and Perales, or that the enemy intended to invade Portugal. Sir Arthur Wellesley expected to ascertain their position in the course of the 12th instant, and if they should have moved towards the frontier of Portugal, he states his intention to follow them. This letter concludes in the following words. 'The experience of every day shows the absolute necessity that the British army should withdraw from this country. It is useless to complain; but we are certainly not treated as friends, much less as the only prop on which the cause of Spain can depend. But besides this want of good will, (which can easily be traced to the temper and disposition of the General commanding the Spanish army, and which ought to be borne with patience if there was any hope of doing good,) there is such a want of resource in the country, and such little exertion in bringing forward what is to be found, that if the army were to remain here much longer, it would become totally useless. The daily and increasing loss of horses in the cavalry and the artillery, from a deficiency and the badness of their food, is really alarming; and the Spanish cavalry having begun to intercept the small supplies of food for horses which we could find, this evil must increase.'

"17. From the tenor of these letters I cannot form any reasonable expectation that the system which I have attempted to pursue for the relief of the wants of the army can produce any salutary effect in sufficient time to enable Sir Arthur Wellesley to resume offensive operations, or even to maintain a defensive position in Spain at any early period of the season.

"18. In the meanwhile the greatest alarm has been excited by the rumour of the proposed return of the British army into Portugal. This Government appears not only to contemplate the probability of that event with terror and despair, but to consider it as the symptom of a disposition to abandon the cause of Spain, and to relinquish the obligations of our alliance.

"19. M. de Garay and a deputation from the Junta have urged me in the most pressing manner to use my influence for the purpose of detaining Sir Arthur Wellesley's army in Spain, and of averting the destructive consequences which must ensue, if the French arms should be turned into Andalusia, and the southern provinces of Spain. But although I am deeply sensible of the urgency of this crisis, I cannot attempt any other mode of averting the calamity than the active employment of the Spanish troops in the northern provinces of Spain, and the establishment of such regulations, as may ultimately render the subsistence of a British army in Spain practicable and secure. The Government of Spain cannot reasonably complain of the natural and necessary result of its own defective management, nor does any obligation of the alliance require that the British army should be sacrificed to the erroneous policy of a weak administration, or to the capricious and impracticable temper of its officers: the reduced state of the resources of the country is perhaps to be ascribed to a variety of causes, many of which are of remote origin, and of long operation. But it is not just to expect that the British troops should be exposed to the destructive effects of such a state of things, because the poverty of the country is not the crime of its present Government.

"20. I am not yet fully acquainted with the original motives and objects of Sir Arthur Wellesley's expedition into Spain, nor have I been able to ascertain what arrangements were made by the Spanish Government to provide for the movement or supply of his army; it is sufficient to know that the means of both have entirely failed, that they cannot be provided under the present system, and that no consideration inferior to absolute necessity could have checked such an army under such a general in the full career of success, and in the moment of decisive victory. Under such circumstances it would be fruitless, if not disingenuous to engage to recommend to Sir Arthur Wellesley a plan which I know, and which he has declared, to be impracticable.

"21. I trust, therefore, that his Majesty will graciously approve my conduct in having abstained from offering any positive pledge to this Government respecting the continuance of our army in Spain, and in having limited my efforts to the improvement of the disposition of the Spanish army in the north of Spain, and of the means absolutely necessary to enable our troops to move or even to subsist.

“ 22. In the meanwhile I am confident that if any favourable change of circumstances should diminish the pressure of distress which now impedes the active exertions of the army, Sir Arthur Wellesley will either resume offensive operations, or occupy such a position in Spain as may be deemed most effectual for the protection of the southern provinces.

“ 23. Among the measures which might be suggested for relieving the sufferings of our army, the removal of General Cuesta from the command of the Spanish forces might certainly promise considerable advantage. In every quality necessary for an extensive military command, General Cuesta is said to be absolutely deficient, with the exception of personal courage. His impracticable temper renders him peculiarly unfit for the command of any force destined to act with an allied army, and it is scarcely possible that another officer could be found in the Spanish service with equal disqualifications. Notwithstanding my conviction of General Cuesta's defects, I have not thought it necessary or expedient to demand or insist upon his removal. This Government is under some apprehension of General Cuesta's influence, which is said to be extensive and dangerous; although it rests merely on the precarious foundation of unmerited popularity. But I have found no symptoms of a disposition to support General Cuesta by obstinacy, or by artifice, or to sacrifice any interest of the alliance to his views or temper. The Junta is well disposed to remove General Cuesta from his command in such a manner and by such means as they deem decorous and safe. If he should tender his resignation it will be accepted with satisfaction and gratitude, and at all events the Junta is prepared to receive a regular and detailed statement of General Cuesta's misconduct from me, and to act upon that statement. It is my intention (unless I should be anticipated by General Cuesta's seasonable resignation) to present to the Secretary of State a recital of all the facts respecting General Cuesta which have been stated in Sir Arthur Wellesley's dispatches. I am satisfied that the immediate result of such a representation will be the removal of General Cuesta.

"24. In the meanwhile, I have limited my interference on this occasion to a strong expression of my sense of General Cuesta's misconduct, and of the impossibility of conducting military operations with any spirit of concord or union while he shall continue in the command. The tenor of his Majesty's instructions of the 29th of June, especially of the 8th paragraph, would require me to pursue this course of moderation and caution in a matter of such delicacy, if the ordinary principles of prudence had not recommended a strict observance of the same policy in discharging every part of the important trust which his Majesty has been pleased to confide to me.

"25. I am satisfied that the removal of General Cuesta will be made with more cheerfulness and alacrity, and with less danger of unpopularity, if it should appear to be the necessary consequence of his own conduct rather than the result of the direct interference of the British Ambassador.

" 26. The unexpected state of the campaign in Spain and the exigencies which affect the condition of the British army have compelled me to fix my attention on those points which constitute the principal topics of this dispatch, and to reserve the consideration of many important circumstances for a future opportunity. I have the honour to be, &c. WELLESLEY."

" P.S. Soon after the battle of Talavera, the Junta appointed Sir Arthur Wellesley to the rank and pay of Captain-General in the Spanish army. They also presented some horses to that officer in the name of King Ferdinand the Seventh, as a testimony of gratitude and respect. The rank of Captain-General in the Spanish army is nearly similar to that of Field-Marshal in the British service; and does not necessarily include the chief command of the Spanish army.

" Sir Arthur Wellesley has accepted the present of horses tendered by the Junta, but has declined receiving the pay of Captain-General; in both instances, I trust that his conduct will meet his Majesty's gracious approbation."

CHAPTER IV.

Crisis in the Situation of the British Army in Spain.—The General declares his Resolution to retire from the Country.—Continued Suffering of the British Army, and Neglect of the Spaniards to coöperate or afford them Subsistence.—Alarm of the Junta.—Marquess Wellesley makes another vigorous Effort to arouse the Government of Spain to Self-exertion. — Suggests an intermediate Plan to Sir Arthur Wellesley.—Note to Mr. Canning, communicating the Resolution of the General to retire into Portugal.—The Alternative to expose the British Army to Destruction, or abandon the Spaniards to their Fate.

MATTERS had now arrived at a crisis; and in a letter to the Ambassador, dated, Jaraicejo, 18th of August, the British General communicated his resolution in the following terms:—

"Under these circumstances I can remain in Spain no longer; and I request you to give notice to the Government that I am about to withdraw into Portugal. I have no doubt that the Government have given orders that we should be provided as we ought to be; but orders, I have to observe, are not sufficient. In order to carry on the contest with France to any good purpose, the labour and services of every man and of every beast in the country, should be employed in the support of the armies; and these should be so classed and arranged, as not only to secure obedience to the orders of the Government, but regularity and efficiency in the performance of the services required from them. Magazines might then with ease be formed and transported wherever circumstances might require that armies should be stationed. But as we are now situated, fifty thousand men are collected upon a spot which cannot afford subsistence for ten thousand men, and there are no means of sending to a distance to make good the deficiency. The Junta have issued their orders to supply the deficiencies of means of transport as well as of provision ; but for want of arrangement, there are no persons to obey these orders, and this army would perish here, if I would remain, before the supplies would arrive.

"I hope your Excellency and the Government will believe that I have not determined to go till it has become absolutely necessary. I assure you that there is not a general officer of this army who is not convinced of the necessity of my immediate departure."

The Supreme Junta were filled with pain and alarm at the prospect of the retirement of the British army to Portugal. In a letter to the Marquess Wellesley, Don Martin de Garay entreats his Excellency to interpose and prevent the ruin of the Spanish cause ;—

"Your Excellency is not ignorant of the enthusiasm and joy which pervaded the whole Spanish nation when it beheld the British army approach to coöperate in its defence, and to deliver it from the tyrant who attempts to despoil it of its independence ; and for the same reason your Excellency will be able to imagine to yourself with ease what would be the desolation of that nation should they behold the retreat of that same army on which they had fixed all their hopes for the attainment of their liberty; for they would conceive that other motives must have produced the departure of an ally on which they had reposed their whole confidence."

Lord Wellesley, therefore, resolved to make one more vigorous effort to arouse the Spanish Government to self-exertion:—

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO DON MARTIN DE GARAY.

"Seville, August 21, 1809.

"Sir,

"Since I had the honour of addressing your Excellency on the 12th instant, relative to the defective condition of the supplies and means of transport of the British army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, I have continually received the most afflicting intelligence of the increasing distress of those brave and meritorious troops.

"Without attempting to doubt the exertions of this Government, I am deeply concerned to inform your Excellency that they have hitherto proved entirely fruitless.

"On the 18th instant, Sir Arthur Wellesley informs me that the British army was without bread for that day; the cavalry was also without forage: which defect, I am grieved to inform your Excellency, was in a great degree to be ascribed to the interception by the Spanish cavalry, of the supplies of forage provided under Sir Arthur Wellesley's orders for the British troops.

"Sir Arthur Wellesley further informs me, that more than a month has now elapsed since he declared in a letter to General Cuesta, that if the British army was not supplied with the means of transport and with provisions, not only it could not coöperate in any forward movement beyond the river Alberché, but that it could not remain in Spain; and General Cuesta assured Sir Arthur Wellesley that he despatched a copy of that letter to the Supreme Central Junta. In the course of that month if proper measures had been adopted, supplies might certainly have been forwarded to the British army from the most distant parts of Andalusia; but Sir Arthur Wellesley declares that he has not received a mule or a cart, or an article of provision of any description, under any order given, or arrangement made by the Government; and Sir Arthur Wellesley most solemnly assures me that since the 22nd of July, the horses of the cavalry and of the artillery have not received three regular deliveries of barley, and the infantry have not received ten days' bread. *Under these circumstances, Sir Arthur Wellesley states that the British army cannot remain in Spain; and he has requested me to give notice to the Spanish Government that he is about to withdraw the British army into Portugal.*

"I had the honour of communicating to your Excellency Sir Arthur Wellesley's letter on this painful subject last night, immediately after I had received it; and I am satisfied that your Excellency will do me the justice to admit, that I have not failed to make the most unreserved communications to your Excellency, respecting the condition of the army, since the moment of my arrival at Seville.

"It is further my duty to represent to your Excellency, that Sir Arthur Wellesley expresses no doubt that the Government has given orders that his army shall be properly provided; but, he observes, that mere orders are not sufficient."

"Sir Arthur Wellesley further remarks, that the Supreme Central Junta has also issued orders to supply the deficiencies of the means of transport, as well as of provisions, but from inadequate arrangement, no persons obey these orders; and if the British army had attempted to remove to the position which it lately occupied, it must have perished before the proposed supplies could have reached it.

"Under all these circumstances, I trust your Excellency will perceive that Sir Arthur Wellesley did not determine to fall back on his supplies in Portugal until the necessity of his situation became absolutely irresistible. I have the honour to be, &c.

"WELLESLEY."

On the same day his Excellency transmitted the following letter and its two important enclosures to the Spanish Government;—

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO DON MARTIN DE GARAY.

"Seville, August 21, 1809.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to enclose for your Excellency's consideration, the suggestions which have occurred to me for the improvement of the system of movement and supply of the British army employed in Spain.

"The principles on which this plan is founded are equally applicable to the condition of the Spanish armies, and the same principles will apply at any time to any positions which the armies may occupy, either in the event of their retiring upon a system of defence, or of their advancing for active operations.

"I take the liberty, at your Excellency's repeated solicitation, of earnestly recommending the immediate and active adoption of this plan.

"I have added a paper, containing some propositions for occupying a new defensive position, upon the banks of the Guadiana.

"It is impossible for me positively to enforce, or even to assure your Excellency that Sir Arthur Wellesley will adopt, the propositions contained in that paper; but the acknowledged zeal of that distinguished officer for the success of the Spanish cause, and his transcendant exertions in the defence of the independence of Spain leave no doubt that he will readily accept any proposition which can provide for the safety of Spain without exposing the British army to the horrors of famine and disease.

"If therefore it should be agreeable to the Supreme Central Junta to adopt without delay the plans enclosed in this letter, and commence the execution of these plans with activity and vigour, I will despatch an express to Sir Arthur Wellesley to-morrow with these papers; and I will recommend the whole plan to his favourable consideration, provided he shall be of opinion that my suggestions do not endanger the existence of the British army,—for which important object it is my duty to provide; and I am satisfied that it never can be the inclination of the Spanish Government to expose the British army to destruction, without any prospect of honour or advantage to the common cause. I have the honour to be, &c.

"WELLESLEY."

PLAN TO ENABLE THE BRITISH ARMY TO PROCURE THE MEANS OF MOVEMENT.

"To enable the English army to recommence offensive operations, it is absolutely necessary that it should possess effective and ready means of movement.

"The means of subsisting an army in the field depend on the means of transport. If the power of movement should fail, all offensive operations must of necessity cease, and it becomes difficult even to maintain a defensive position.

"To an army of 25,000 men in this country, should be attached a thousand mules and a hundred carts. This will provide for the transport of the hospital stores, military chest, and five days rations of biscuit, rice, and bacon. But these means of transport are not to be considered as forming part of the train necessarily employed in conducting the supplies of grain, biscuit, wine, brandy, &c., from the magazine to the army.

"In the present position of the British and Spanish armies in Estremadura, two lines of magazines might be formed. The depôts nearest the army should be collected at Villa Nova de la Serena, Dom Benito, Almendralijo, Asauchal. They should be formed of flour, biscuit, rice, bacon, barley, oats, wine, and brandy.

"The part of the country in which these places are situated is equal to supply the magazines. The means of transport also might be collected in that province, without difficulty, partly in mules, and partly in carts.

"The second depôts might be formed at Monasterio, Santa Olalla; and should be entirely supplied, both in provisions and means of transport, from Seville and its vicinity.

"The town of Seville is famous for its biscuit. It might therefore be convenient to make Monasterio and Santa Olalla the principal depôts for biscuit, as well as for wine and brandy.

"But it will be in vain to establish magazines, and procure the means of conveying supplies to the army, if the convoys of provisions be not placed under the direction of military officers, who shall be made answerable for their regular and punctual delivery.

" A military officer, to be named by the British General, assisted by six or eight commissaries, should be at the head of each line of depôts.

" The mules and carts employed in the transport of provisions, should be divided into brigades, and each brigade should be escorted by an officer, and by a sufficient number of men to protect it from insult.

" These officers and men should of course be under the command of the officer at the head of the magazines.

" In the town of Almendralijo, and in the neighbourhood, there are considerable quantities of wheat and barley. It is absolutely necessary that this supply should be secured for the use of the army, and conveyed within the line of the position which it is likely to occupy.

" Immediate means should be taken for purchasing this grain, under a requisition which should compel its delivery at proper prices. The money should be paid immediately on delivery of the grain.

" Returns should be collected of all articles of provision existing in Estremadura, with a view to purchase and bring within the same line whatever may be necessary for the use of the army.

" Bread, rice, and barley, are the articles of which the army are at present in most need.

" Money must be sent forward to make the necessary purchases.

" Seville, and even Cadiz, might furnish means of transport, and for this purpose, every sacrifice of private convenience must be required.

" The horses, mules, and carriages of all individuals, should be considered to belong to the war department, until they should have performed a certain number of journeys to the army.

" This demand, however, should be exclusive of the supply required for attaching to the army brigades of carts and mules.

" The whole plan might then be connected in the following manner.

" At Cadiz, all the articles both of provision and of transport which could be collected from that vicinity, and even from Africa if necessary, should be placed under the direction of a proper officer, to be approved by the British Ambassador.

" Cadiz should furnish the means of conveying these articles to Seville.

" At Seville a similar arrangement should be made for collecting and distributing the provision; and Seville should furnish the means of moving these articles to Santa Olalla and Monasterio, where the magazines nearest to Seville will be established. These magazines also must be furnished with their separate means of transport from this line to Asauchal, Almendralijo, &c., where a similar establishment is to be made, with separate means of conveyance.

" The line of communication with the army being once determined, regular halting places should be fixed for the convoys; and provision should be made at each of these halting-places for the men and beasts employed in the convoys.

"Regular daily returns should be made to the British General, and to the government of Seville, of the state of each magazine and of each convoy.

"These returns should contain a list of the nature and quantity of each article conveyed, and of the time of departure and arrival of each convoy, together with the name of the officer commanding the escort, who should be rendered responsible for the due delivery of the articles to be conveyed.

"A proper system of rewards should be established under the direction of the British General, for those persons who should distinguish themselves in the collection of the articles required for the magazines, and in the safe conveyance of them to their several points of destination. The rewards should be given on the spot, and should not be deferred to any remote period of time, or rendered liable to any contingency.

"If this plan should be approved, lists can be made out immediately of the whole establishment necessary for carrying it into effect.

"WELLESLEY."

PLAN FOR THE BRITISH ARMY TAKING UP A POSITION UPON THE LEFT BANK OF THE GUADIANA.

"If the Spanish and British armies should retire from the positions which they at present occupy, they might take up a position on the left bank of the Guadiana, from Villa nueva de la Serena, nearly to Badajoz.

"If the British army occupied Merida as an advanced post, and stationed their right at Almendralijo, extending their left towards Badajoz, perhaps Portugal would be as effectually covered by that position, as by the occupation of Elvas; at the same time that, by occupying this position, Seville would be protected, and a firm point d'appui would be given to the left of the Spanish army, which should, in that case, be cantoned in the towns of Medellin, Dom Benito, and Villa nueva de la Serena.

"This position of the armies would immediately facilitate their means of subsistence, under the plan proposed; as the country which they would occupy is abundant, and consequently the distances of transport short.

"Before the armies can have consumed the existing produce of the country, it is to be hoped the magazines at Monasterio and Santa Olalla, according to the plan proposed, will be in a state amply to supply all the wants of both armies.

"Another advantage to be derived from the positions proposed would be, that the right of the English, and the left of the Spanish army, would be too far separated to allow of any dissensions respecting forage, or supplies of any kind.

"But in order to give full effect to every part of this plan, the General commanding the Spanish army should be positively ordered to conform, in every respect, to such instructions as he might receive from Sir Arthur Wellesley, and should be directed to occupy such positions, and to pursue such a plan, either of offence or defence, as Sir Arthur Wellesley may propose. WELLESLEY."

In a letter to Mr. Canning, dated on the same day, the Marquess Wellesley makes the annexed communication :—

"The Government avails itself of this occasion to urge the continuance of the British army in Spain, and insinuates that some assurance from me to that effect would be required previously to the selection of a successor to General Cuesta. I have not thought this insinuation of sufficient importance to justify any particular notice. In the meanwhile, the command in Estremadura has devolved on General Eguia, an officer whose local knowledge of Spain is said to be considerable, but who is described to be otherwise quite incapable of holding such a command. The most proper person for the command in Estremadura would be the Duque de Albuquerque, who has been distinguished by several acts of gallantry and spirit in the last campaign. He is, however, an object of jealousy to the Junta ; and if he should be appointed to the command in Estremadura, attempts will certainly be made to reduce the strength of that division of the Spanish army."

Lord Wellesley could not, however, consent to the retirement of the army from Spain, without waiting to see the effect of his expostulations on the Junta. His Excellency addressed the following letter to General Wellesley:—

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

"Seville, August 22, 1809.

"SIR,

"Although M. de Garay and this Government must have been prepared to expect the early notification of your return to Portugal, from every communication which I had made since my arrival at Seville, and especially from your recent dispatches (which I had regularly put into M. de Garay's hands) the most violent emotions of alarm and consternation seemed to be excited by the near approach of an event so long foreseen.

"M. de Garay declared to me, with expressions of the deepest sorrow and terror, that if your army should quit Spain at this critical moment, inevitable and immediate ruin must ensue to this Government; to whatever provinces remained under its authority; to the cause of Spain itself; and to every interest connected with the alliance so happily established between Great Britain and the Spanish nation.

"These expressions were mixed with the most cordial sentiments of personal respect and gratitude for your great and splendid services in the cause of Spain, and with the highest admiration of the character and conduct of the British troops under your command.

"M. de Garay proceeded to express the affliction of this Government for the sufferings of your gallant army. He protested that great efforts had been made for your supply; that this Government was ready to adopt any plan for that object which you or the British Ambassador would suggest; that at this moment the most active exertions were actually in progress for the purpose of furnishing you with provisions and the means of transport; that all the resources of these provinces were called forth for that sole end; and that he trusted that the exigencies of this moment were not so irresistible as not to admit of your remaining within the Spanish frontier until you had ascertained the result of the efforts which this Government had made for your supply since the period of my arrival at Seville.

"The enclosed notes contain the substance of the observations which I offered in reply to M. de Garay's earnest solicitations. I found, however, that no argument which occurred to me produced the effect of diminishing the urgency of his entreaties; and I have ascertained that his sensations are in no degree more powerful than those of the Government, and of every description of the people of Spain within this city and its vicinity. I am also informed that the rumour of the return of the British army to Portugal had reached Cadiz some days ago, and had occasioned an equal degree of alarm in that quarter.

"I am aware that these painful occurrences have not been unexpected in your view of the consequences of your retreat into Portugal, and that the absolute necessity of the case is the sole cause of a movement so entirely contrary to your inclination.

"I am also fully sensible not only of the indelicacy, but of the inutility of attempting to offer to you any opinion of mine in a situation where your own judgment must be your best guide, and when no useful suggestions could arise in my mind, which must not already have been anticipated by your own experience, comprehensive knowledge, and ardent zeal for the public welfare.

" *Viewing, however, so nearly the painful consequences of your immediate retreat into Portugal, I have deemed it to be my duty to submit to your consideration the possibility of adopting an intermediate plan, which might combine some of the advantages of your return into Portugal, without occasioning alarm in Spain, and without endangering the foundations of the alliance between this country and Great Britain.*

" Under this impression I have delivered the note to M. de Garay, and I request your favourable attention to that note, and to the enclosures which it contains.

" I am inclined to hope that this Government will adopt the plan proposed for the improvement of the supply and means of transport of your army, and that in the meanwhile every possible effort will be made to diminish the pressure of your present distress, until the principles of the proposed plan can be brought into full operation. It is to be hoped that in the position proposed for your army, the supplies which you have provided in Portugal would be within your reach.

" But it would be vain to urge these considerations beyond the extent in which they may be approved by your judgment. It will be sufficient for me to receive an early intimation of your opinion, and to be enabled to state it distinctly to this Government; which looks to your decision, on the present occasion, as the final determination of its fate, and of the existence of the Spanish nation.

"That decision I am persuaded will be founded on the same principles of wisdom, justice, and public spirit, which have already obtained the respect, esteem, and confidence of the Spanish nation; and it will be my duty to endeavour to satisfy this Government (whatever may be the exigency of the crisis) that no change has taken place in the sentiments or motives of action which have so cordially engaged their affection and admiration. I have the honour to be, &c.

"WELLESLEY."

In a letter dated Seville, August 24th, 1809, the Marquess Wellesley communicates to Mr. Canning the final resolution of the British Commander to withdraw his army from Spain:—

"From Sir Arthur Wellesley's letters you will perceive that, notwithstanding the promises and professions of this Government and of its officers, the sufferings of the British army had not been alleviated from the 12th to the 18th instant, that no satisfactory proposition for the relief of the wants of our troops had been offered to Sir A. Wellesley by the Spanish civil or military officers in the vicinity of his army, and that he entertained no expectation of seasonable relief from any effort which the Supreme Central Junta had engaged to make in consequence of my applications to that authority."

His Excellency adds:—

"*It is unnecessary to inform you that I have asked* *nothing from Spain, excepting subsistence for the brave army employed in her defence.*"

In a letter dated September 2nd, his Excellency adds, "From Sir Arthur Wellesley's letters it was evident that his immediate retirement to the frontier of Portugal was indispensable to the recovery and safety of his troops; and the dilatory and inefficient management of the Government at this place had destroyed the foundation of the plan which I had suggested for the purpose of enabling the British army to continue in Spain at any distance from the frontier of Portugal. I therefore signified to Sir Arthur Wellesley my entire concurrence in his determination to continue his march until he should arrive within reach of his Portuguese supplies; and I also approved his intention of avoiding any promise of further coöperation with the Spanish army. In my note of the same date to M. de Garay, I distinctly communicated Sir Arthur Wellesley's intentions and my sentiments upon the whole question."

A painful alternative now seemed to present itself to the British Minister—either the exposure of the British forces to the danger of being annihilated by destitution,—or the abandonment of the Spaniards to their fate! The caution and unflinching resolution of Sir Arthur Wellesley guarded against the first calamity,—the energy and *fortitude* of the Marquess Wellesley prevented the second.

CHAPTER V.

Desperate Condition of Affairs in Spain. — Censures of the French, and Spanish Press, and English Opposition Prints on the British Government and Sir Arthur Wellesley. — Caution recommended to the Spanish Generals.—Plans of the Marquess Wellesley.—His Excellency's Dispatch to Mr. Canning, remarking on the Failure of Coöperation in Spain.—The Apathy of the Spanish Governmentt—The Sufferings of the British Troops, the Treachery of several of the Spanish Commanders, the Constitution of the Junta, with Suggestions for its Reconstruction, the Waste of the Supplies furnished to Spain by England, and the Impossibility of taking any decisive Step in Favour of Spain without a total Change of System. — Discontent in England at the Retreat of Wellington. — Reproaches of the *Moniteur*. — Satirical Lines on Walcheren and Talavera.—Opinion of the Emperor Napoleon in a Letter to the Emperor of Russia, on the Affairs of the Peninsula. — The Spanish Army utterly routed by the French at Ocana. — The Recal of the British Army loudly demanded in England.—Difficulties with America. — Dissensions in the Cabinet. — Duel and Newspaper Controversy between Canning and Castlereagh.—The Author of "Don Roderick" alone predicts future Success.

To all appearances the cause of Spain now seemed desperate. Both General Wellesley and the British Ambassador at Seville, had apparently abandoned the enterprise of liberating the brave and suffering Spaniards; and the whole Spanish nation, the French journals, and the Opposition in Great Britain, joined in taunting the Government with the utter failure of their plans. Neither the Marquess Wellesley nor his illustrious brother had, however, as the sequel will prove, the most remote intention of relinquishing the glorious struggle for Spanish freedom and the deliverance of Europe: they retrograded merely to acquire fresh strength and force for bounding forward again with redoubled energy. The General, seeing that it was hopeless for the Spaniards, in their state of discipline and organization, to essay successfully to cope in the field with the disciplined legions of Buonaparte, recommended the adoption of a system of guerilla warfare, that would have distracted the enemy without exposing the Spanish troops to defeat; while his Excellency Marquess Wellesley pressed the adoption of several important political changes on the Junta, as essentially necessary before operations could be re-commenced with any reasonable prospect of enduring success.

In a dispatch, dated Seville, 15th of September, 1809, to the Right Honourable George Canning, the Marquess Wellesley takes a masterly and final review of the position of the affairs of Spain at this period: "In addition," remarks his Excellency, "to the total want of supplies of every description, you will have seen *that the condition of the Spanish armies, the failure of concert and coöperation in the generals and troops of Spain, and the mismanagement of the whole system of the military department of this Government, opposed insurmountable obstacles to the ultimate success of the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley.* Even if the system of supplies could have been corrected, the state of the Spanish army alone would have formed an irresistible motive in my mind for withholding from the Spanish Government any expectation of future coöperation, while the same evils should be left unremedied, and should menace the recurrence of the same misfortunes on every similar occasion. Sir Arthur Wellesley appears to agree entirely with me in this branch of my opinion. While the military resources and power of Spain shall continue in this state of inefficiency and disorder, it is my decided opinion that no British army of whatever strength can safely be employed in joint operations with the Spanish troops within the territory of Spain."

The Marquess Wellesley then directs Mr. Canning's attention to a communication which he had made to M. de Garay :—

" That until these evils shall be effectually remedied to the entire satisfaction of the British Government, and until other necessary arrangements shall be made for the security of the British troops, no British army can attempt to coöperate with the Spanish armies within the territories of Spain. By these expressions," continues his Excellency, " it was my intention to leave open to future negotiation, all questions respecting the employment of a British army in Spain, the command of the Spanish troops, and the garrison of Cadiz. It appeared to me to be proper at the same time to renew the general assurances of his Majesty's attachment to the alliance, and of his Majesty's intention to afford to Spain every other species of assistance (excepting that of a British army in Spain) which might be consistent with the means and interests of the British Government. You will observe, that Sir Arthur Wellesley is of opinion that, in the event of a British army acting in Spain, especially for the defence of the southern provinces, it would be absolutely necessary that the chief command of the Spanish army should be vested in his Majesty's Commander-in-Chief, and that a British garrison should be placed in Cadiz. I entirely concur in these sentiments; but under the present circumstances, I have postponed all discussion with regard to the command of the Spanish army and the garrison of Cadiz:—First—Because I am convinced that in the present crisis of affairs, any such discussion would occasion great jealousy in the minds of those best affected to the British cause, would strengthen the misrepresentations of the French, and of their partisans in Spain; would impair the general confidence of the Spanish nation in our sincerity and good faith, and would induce the people to believe that our army had retreated for the purpose of enabling me to obtain these objects. Secondly—Because the British Commander-in-Chief could not now accept the command of the Spanish troops; and the immediate appointment of a Spanish Commander-in-Chief might preclude all future possibility of introducing a British officer to that command. Thirdly—Because no modification of the command of the Spanish army in any form, in which it could now be granted, would secure either the coöperation or the efficiency of the Spanish army, or remove any of the causes to which the sufferings of our army can justly be imputed. Fourthly—Because the demand of a British garrison for Cadiz would certainly be now refused, and such a refusal might oppose great obstacles to the success of any proposition of that nature upon any future occasion.

"In obedience to the general tenor of his Majesty's instructions, upon my arrival at Seville my earliest attention was directed to the propriety of abstaining from all unnecessary interference in the internal concerns and interests of Spain: *but I had not been many days at Seville before I learnt that his Majesty's army, which had gloriously conquered in the cause of Spain, had been defrauded of every necessary supply; that his Majesty's brave soldiers, wounded in vindicating the independence and glory of Spain, had been abandoned by the Spanish General to the mercy of the enemy; that the Spanish Generals, instead of coöperation, had displayed a systematic spirit of counteraction, and had disconcerted every plan and operation which they were appointed to support; and that his Majesty's General, (after having compelled the enemy to retreat from a British force of far inferior numbers,) had been himself compelled to retreat from the country which he had saved, lest his troops should perish by famine and disease.*"

The Marquess Wellesley next turns his attention to the internal politics of Spain:—"In this condition of the army, it is not surprising that many officers, even in the highest commands, should be notoriously disaffected to the cause of Spain and of the allies, and should not be duly controlled by the Government. In reviewing the events of the last campaign, it is impossible to *imagine any rational motive for the conduct of some of the Spanish Generals and officers, unless it be admitted that their inclinations were favourable to the enemy, and that they concerted their operations with the French instead of the British General.*" On the constitution of the Junta, which then exercised the powers of Government in Spain, he thus speaks:—

"Whether this Government, so ill-formed, be deficient in sincerity to the cause of Spain and of the allies, is certainly questionable. Whatever jealousy exists against the British Government or the allies, is principally to be found in this body, its officers or adherents; in the people, no such unworthy sentiment can be traced; but omitting all question respecting the disposition of the Junta, it is evident that it does not possess any spirit of energy or activity, any degree of authority or strength; that it is unsupported by popular attachment or good will; while its strange and anomalous constitution unites the contradictory inconveniences of every known form of government, without possessing the advantages of any. It is not an instrument of sufficient power to accomplish the purposes for which it was formed; nor can it ever acquire sufficient force or influence to bring into action the resources of the country, and the spirit of the people, with that degree of vigour and alacrity which might give effect to foreign alliances, and might repel a powerful foreign invader. This is the true cause, at least, of the continuance of that state of weakness, confusion, and disorder, of which the British army has recently experienced the consequences, in the internal administration of Spain, and especially of her military affairs."

The substance of his recommendations to the Spanish Government, the Marquess Wellesley sums up in the following paragraph of his last dispatch to Mr. Canning:—

"First. That the Supreme Central Junta should immediately nominate (without limiting the nomination to the members of its own body) a Council of Regency, to consist of not more than five persons for the exercise of the executive power, until the Cortes should be assembled. Secondly. That the Cortes should be assembled with the least possible delay. Thirdly. That the Supreme Central Junta, or such members of it, as shall not be of the Council of Regency, shall constitute a deliberative Council for the purpose of superintending the election of the Cortes; and of preparing for that body, with the assent of the Council of Regency, such business as it may be deemed proper to submit to its early consideration. Fourthly. That the same act of the Junta by which the Regency shall be appointed and the Cortes called, shall contain the principal articles of redress of grievances, correction of abuses, and relief of exactions in Spain and the Indies, and also the heads of such concessions to the Colonies as shall fully secure to them a due share in the representative body of the Spanish empire. Fifthly. That the first act of the Regency should be to issue the necessary orders for correcting the whole system of the military department in Spain."

The following are the concluding paragraphs of Lord Wellesley's dispatch:—

"These observations are made with great reluctance and pain, under a most serious conviction of their truth, and of the severe duty which requires me to express my sentiments without reserve. The duration of the present system of government in Spain cannot fail to prove highly dangerous to the genuine principles of her hereditary monarchy, by gradually establishing habits, interests, and views, inconsistent with the lawful form and order of the government: the same system would also endanger all the hopes and expectations of Spain. The hopes and expectations of the body of the Spanish nation are directed with anxious solicitude to some alteration, which, with more attention to the welfare and feelings of the people, may combine a more just representation of the Crown, a more uniform and concentrated authority, a more effectual and vigorous system of military administration, and a more cordial coöperation with the allies.

"Many instances might be adduced of the abuse and waste of the supplies of various descriptions with which the liberality of the British Government and nation has so largely furnished the Government of Spain.

"The most destructive waste of these supplies has been occasioned by the defects of the military department, and by the want of discipline in the army. In the various instances which have occurred of confusion, panic, and flight among the Spanish troops when in face of the enemy, it has been the usual practice of the soldiers to throw away the arms and clothing with which they had been provided by the generosity of Great Britain. These of course have generally fallen into the hands of the enemy. *In the battle of Talavera, Sir Arthur Wellesley witnessed the flight of whole corps of Spanish troops, who, after having thrown away the British arms and clothing, plundered the baggage of the British troops at that moment bravely engaged with the enemy. These calamities and disgraces all flow from one common source,—the* *state of the Government of Spain; and all tend to one common end, the benefit of the cause of France.*

"Although deeply impressed with these sentiments, I shall not fail to employ every effort within my power to maintain the temper of the alliance, and to cultivate a good intelligence with the Ministers of Spain, as far as may be compatible with the interests and honour of his Majesty, and with the safety of his Majesty's troops.

"No demand of any description has been urged by me since my arrival in Spain. My applications to the Government have been nothing more than plain representations of the condition of the country, and of the impossibility of permitting a British army to act in Spain, while that condition shall remain unaltered.

"I am not without hope, (when the Supreme Central Junta shall be convinced of the firm determination of the British Government to withhold all coöperation of the British troops in Spain, until satisfactory remedies shall have been applied to the evils of which I have complained,) that motives of self-interest may concur with the just principles of an enlarged policy, to produce a favourable change in the councils of the Spanish Government.

"In the most unfavourable event which can be apprehended, I entertain no doubt that the temper and disposition of the Spanish nation, and the character of the people, will prolong the difficulties which France has experienced in her attempt to subjugate this country. The greatest obstacle to the deliverance of Spain is certainly the state of her own Government; but even if the mismanagement of those now entrusted with the conduct of her affairs should favour the success of the French arms in Spain, much time must elapse before a French Government could be established in this country, and many opportunities must open for the improvement of the British interests with relation to Spain and to her colonies."

The news of Lord Wellington's* retreat into Portugal was received with general disapprobation in England. It followed hard upon the intelligence of the unhappy Walcheren expedition ; and the British people already began to fear that the renown of Cressy and Agincourt was about to be obscured and obliterated by the disasters of modern British Generals! The recall of the army from the Peninsula was loudly demanded ; and both in this country and in France and Spain, Lord Wellington was assailed with unmeasured censure. The *Moniteur*, the official Paris journal, remarked, "The British people owe much gratitude to Lord Wellington for having destroyed a part of their troops, for having compromised the glory of their arms, for having fled sixty leagues, pursued sword in hand,—in fine, for having abandoned his allies, his hospitals, his baggage, and his artillery." The *Moniteur* jeeringly asked, why, if Sir Arthur Wellesley had been created Viscount

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* The following notice announced Sir Arthur Wellesley's elevation to the peerage :—

"Whitehall, August 26th, 1809.

"The King has been pleased to grant the dignities of Baron and Viscount of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto the Right Honourable Sir Arthur Wellesley, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, styles, and titles of Baron Douro of Wellesley, in the county of Somerset, and Viscount Wellington of Talavera, and of Wellington, in the said county."

Wellington of Talavera, Lord Chatham was not raised to the dignity of *Duke of Walcheren?* The following satirical skit appeared in the London journals of the day:—

"WALCHEREN.

Dialogue between Lord Chatham and a friend.

F. When sent fresh wreaths on Flushing's shores to reap,
What didst thou do, illustrious Chatham?"—*C. Sleep!*
F. To men fatigued with war, repose is sweet,
But when awake didst thou do nothing?—*C. Eat!*

TALAVERA.

What chief with Wellington can vie,
Who flies to fight, and fights to fly!"

In a letter from the French Emperor to the Emperor of Russia, Napoleon thus speaks of the efforts of the British in the Peninsula and the aspect of affairs in the autumn of 1809:—

"I send your Majesty the English journals last received. You will see that the English Ministers were fighting with each other; that there is a revolution in the Ministry, and that all is in perfect anarchy. The folly and absurdity of that Cabinet are beyond description. They have recently occasioned the destruction of from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand men, in the most horrible country in the world; it would have been just as well to have thrown them into the sea, so pestilential are the marshes of Walcheren! In Spain they have lost a very considerable number of men. General Wellesley has had the extreme imprudence to commit himself in the heart of Spain with thirty thousand men, having on his flanks three armies, consisting of ninety-one battalions, and from forty to fifty squadrons, whilst he had in his front the army commanded by the King, which was of equal force. It is difficult to conceive such an act of presumption. It remains at present to be ascertained who are to succeed the late Ministry." Napoleon adds, "*The United States are on the worst terms with England, and seem disposed sincerely and seriously to approximate to our system.*"

To heighten, if possible, the gloom which lowered over the Peninsula, news of the fatal battle of Ocana, in which the Spanish army was completely routed, reached this country in November. According to the report of the French General, the Spaniards lost upon that occasion four thousand men, killed, including two hundred officers; twenty thousand prisoners; beside forty thousand muskets, captured by the victors, with twenty standards, and thirty pieces of cannon. The *Times*, in commenting on the news from Spain before the intelligence of the battle of Ocana, remarks, "For this reason we are particularly dismayed by the retreat of our army upon Portugal. Its longer continuance in its present position is futile in the extreme; if it is not placed in a situation to move forward before the arrival of fresh forces from France, it were better that it should be altogether *withdrawn*."

While every ship that arrived from the seat of war brought presages of disaster, and every arrival from the United States of America forewarned our statesmen that a tempest was gathering fast in that quarter of the world, the British Cabinet was rent with dissensions, which paralysed the energies of Government and exposed the country to all the evils arising from distracted counsels. These animosities at length led to an open quarrel between various members of the Ministry, which ended in a duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, and a protracted newspaper war, marked by a great deal of rancorous feeling. The poet alone ventured to predict future prosperity and success. In his prophetic vision* thus he sung :—

> " Or may I give adventurous Fancy scope,
>   And stretch a bold hand to the awful veil
> That hides futurity from anxious hope,
>   Bidding beyond it scenes of glory hail,
> And painting Europe rousing at the tale
>   Of Spain's invaders from her confines hurl'd,—
> While kindling nations buckle on their mail,
>   And Fame, with clarion-blast and wings unfurl'd,
> To freedom and revenge awakes an injured world !
>   O vain, though anxious, is the glance I cast,
>   Since Fate has marked futurity her own !—
> Yet Fate resigns to Worth the glorious past,
>   The deeds recorded and the laurels won.
> Then, through the Vault of Destiny be gone,
>   King, Prelate, all the phantasms of my brain,
> Melted away like mist-wreaths in the sun,
>   Yet grant for faith, for valour, and for Spain,
> One note of pride and fire, a Patriot's parting strain ! "

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* " The Vision of Don Roderick," by Walter Scott, Esq., appeared in the year 1809.

CHAPTER VI.

Duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning.—Dissolution of the Ministry.—State of the Country.—Note upon the Character of Lord Castlereagh.—The Causes of the Quarrel.—Mr. Canning desired the Appointment of the Marquess Wellesley.—Negotiations of Mr. Perceval with Lords Grenville and Grey.—They decline joining the Administration.—Appointment of Viscount Palmerston as Secretary of War.—Remarks on Duelling.—Instances of Political Duels.—The Practice condemned as Illegal and Irrational.—The Hopes of the King and his Advisers turned to Marquess Wellesley.—His Lordship's return from Spain.—Accepts the Office of Foreign Secretary.—Public Feeling respecting his Appointment.—Mr. Henry Wellesley appointed Ambassador in Spain.—The Marquess Wellesley now in a Position to Coöperate with Lord Wellington.—The New Ministry.—Death of the Duke of Portland.

THE duel between Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh, followed as it was by a complete break up of the Cabinet, caused a great commotion at this time, and, as we have seen, afforded the enemy an opportunity of saying that the English Government were fighting with each other! For some time a coolness had existed between Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh; and during the Easter recess of 1809 Mr. Canning had signified his wish of resigning his situation as Foreign Secretary, unless Lord Castlereagh should relinquish the war department, and a proper successor be appointed.* Mr. Canning at the same

* Mr. Alison has exaggerated Lord Castlereagh into a hero.—"But if the great and ennobling characteristics of statesmen are considered, none in English history will occupy a loftier pedestal or be deemed

time suggested the appointment of the Marquess Wellesley; and the Duke of Portland and the members of the Cabinet present when the subject was discussed agreed in the propriety of Lord Castlereagh's retirement from office. Mr. Canning wished the immediate disclosure of these sentiments to be made to Lord Castlereagh, which certainly would have been the fair and manly course; but his colleagues, from professed regard to Lord Castlereagh's feelings, proposed to delay the disclosure until the adjournment of Parliament. To this proposal Mr. Canning reluctantly consented; and in the mean time these two gentlemen met on apparent terms of mutual respect in the Cabinet; and Lord Castlereagh, as War Secretary, was employed in the arrangement of one of the most important expeditions that ever sailed from the British shores, remaining all the while entirely ignorant of the objections which had been made against his continuance in the Cabinet.

worthy of more unqualified admiration." Lord Byron, rushing into the opposite extreme, has depicted Lord Castlereagh as a Sejanus, a miscreant, a reptile—

"A wretch never named but with curses and jeers."

Lord Castlereagh was, though not an attractive speaker, a man of business habits, coolness, and self-possession, and deserves credit for his energy and unflinching vigour in dealing with Buonaparte. He appears to have been amiable in private life; but there are many blots on his public character. He was a professor of liberal principles in the early part of his career, and subsequently was their unrelenting enemy. The sternness which he evinced during the Irish rebellion and the barbarous retaliatory atrocities which he permitted,—the duplicity of his conduct towards the misguided insurgents, who were entrapped, betrayed, and sacrificed,—his unscrupulous employment of corrupt agencies in accomplishing the Union,—the taint upon his character in consequence of the traffic of Government offices, and his subservience to the Duke of York and the Prince Regent in the transactions by which those Princes were compromised, cannot be veiled by an extravagant eulogy.

When the adjournment of Parliament took place, Mr. Canning is said to have urged the Duke of Portland to enforce the recommendation which he had before submitted to the Cabinet, and requested him to communicate the sentiments of himself and his colleagues to Lord Castlereagh; otherwise, he expressed his determination of immediately resigning. The Duke of Portland again recurred to the topic of delicacy, though he agreed it was right Lord Castlereagh should retire. After some further delay, Earl Camden was selected for the purpose of making the above communication to Lord Castlereagh. It was again, however, deferred, in consequence, it is said, of the hurry occasioned by the preparation of the expedition to the Scheldt, and no communication on a subject so interesting to Lord Castlereagh was made to that gentleman until Mr. Canning, displeased by the delay, actually gave in his resignation. The Duke of Portland then saw the necessity of stating to Lord Castlereagh the sentiments of Mr. Canning respecting his Lordship, with the concurring opinion of the Cabinet.

On receiving his Grace's communication, Lord Castlereagh sent in his resignation, and wrote to Mr. Canning a letter, dated, St. James's Square, 19th September. In this letter, his Lordship indignantly refers to Mr. Canning's secret proposal, that he (Lord Castlereagh) should be removed from the war department, with the alternative of Mr. Canning seceding from the Government, if such removal could not be effected; and while he allows that Mr. Canning had a right, upon public grounds, to make such a proposal, he considers its systematic concealment from him as a breach of good faith, and reproaches him with sitting in the Cabinet, during the preparation of a most important expedition, on terms of apparent friendship and cordiality with a colleague whom he was labouring to supersede. He adds that he cannot consider Mr. Canning excusable for practising such deception, in consequence of the Duke of Portland's or any other person's scruples respecting the delicacy of the disclosure, as he must have well known that he (Lord C.), had he been aware of what was going forward, could not have submitted to remain one moment longer in office. He states that in such circumstances, Mr. Canning, as a man of honour, ought to have given in his own resignation, and concludes thus: "Under these circumstances, I must require that *satisfaction* from you to which I feel myself entitled to lay claim." To this letter Mr. Canning replied as follows:—

"Gloucester Lodge, September 20, 1809.

"MY LORD,

"The tone and the purport of your Lordship's letter, which I have this moment received, of course preclude any other answer on my part to the misapprehensions and misrepresentations with which it abounds, than that I will cheerfully give to your Lordship the satisfaction you require."

The Earl of Yarmouth (Lord Castlereagh's cousin) was the bearer of his Lordship's letter to Mr. Canning. On Thursday morning, September 21st, at seven o'clock, the parties met on Putney Heath. Lord Castlereagh was attended by Lord Yarmouth and Mr. Home, surgeon; Mr. Canning by Mr. Charles Ellis. At the second fire, Mr. Canning received the ball of his antagonist through the outside of the thigh bone. The wound was immediately dressed by Mr. Home, who accompanied Mr. Canning in his carriage to Gloucester Lodge. The wound was not dangerous, and he speedily recovered. Lord Castlereagh had a narrow escape, a button on the right lapel of his coat having been shot off. His Lordship, on learning the nature of Mr. Canning's wound, returned to town with Lord Yarmouth.

It appears that the resignations of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, together with that of the Duke of Portland, (which his Grace's infirm state of health for a long time past now rendered absolutely necessary,) had induced the rest of his Majesty's Ministers to think of making some overtures to Lord Grenville and Earl Grey. This measure having received his Majesty's approbation, a correspondence took place on this important subject. It was opened by a letter from Mr. Perceval, to each of these noblemen, dated, Windsor, September the 23rd, 1809, and stated that in consequence of the intended retirement of the Duke of Portland, and the resignations of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, he (Mr. Perceval) and Lord Liverpool were authorised to concert measures with Lords Grey and Grenville, for forming an extended and combined administration. He therefore requested these noblemen to come to town immediately, in order that this object might be accomplished. Lord Grey replied to the letter addressed to him, in a letter dated Howick, September the 26th, expressing, in respectful terms, his zeal for his Majesty's service, and his readiness to go to town at a moment's notice, had his Majesty's commands been personal to himself; but at the same time declining to do so on the present occasion, as it was impossible for him, consistently with his regard to public duty, to enter into any terms with the existing Administration. Lord Grenville repaired to town in compliance with his Majesty's request, and on his arrival, wrote to Mr. Perceval an answer to his communication, similar in substance to that of Lord Grey, and declining, like him, to enter into a treaty with the existing Administration. He declared, however, that in doing so, he was actuated by no feeling of personal animosity, and that it was not more his duty than his desire to endeavour to allay political animosities; but as his objections applied to the principle of the Government itself, and not to the persons of Ministers, he considered such an accommodation as leading to a dereliction of public duty. Mr. Perceval, in a letter dated the 29th, replied to Lord Grenville. He expressed his regret at the failure of the object in contemplation, and reminded his Lordship that, in making the proposal, he had not stated that he wished for the accession of him and Lord Grey, but for their concurrence in forming a combined and extended administration. Here the negotiations ended: a temporary arrangement was made, by which Earl Bathurst was intrusted with Foreign Affairs, and Viscount Palmerston,* with the business of the War Office.

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* The founder of the family of the Temples is said to have been Leofric, the Saxon Earl of Mercia, husband to the Lady Godiva of Coventry. They justly boast of the celebrated Sir William Temple, who adorned by his philosophic writings the reign of Charles the Second. Viscount Palmerston was born on the 20th of October, 1784, and succeeded to the title in 1802. He commenced his education at Harrow, and, like Lord

Political duels are now fortunately of rare occurrence. Indeed, duelling is no longer fashionable,—it may almost be said, it is not even respectable. It cannot be necessary to employ one word of argument to prove that the practice is as repugnant to common sense as it is contrary to the injunctions of religion and to the laws of the land. It is a relic of a barbarous age, and ought to be frowned upon by a civilized people. Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh were not, however, singular in their day. They had the example of several distinguished men before them: Mr. Wilkes fought successively with Lord Talbot and Mr. Martin; Colonel Fullarton with Lord Shelburne; Mr. William Adam with Mr. Fox; the Duke of York with Colonel Lennox, afterwards Duke of Richmond; Mr.

John Russell, had the rare advantage of pursuing his studies at the University of Edinburgh, under Professor Dugald Stewart. In 1803, Viscount Palmerston entered himself at St. John's College, Cambridge; and on the death of Mr. Pitt, in 1806, was nominated as a candidate to represent the University in Parliament, being then in his twenty-second year. He was opposed upon that occasion by Lord Henry Petty (the present Marquess Lansdowne), and Lord Althorp (the late Earl Spencer); the state of the poll at the close being as follows,—Lord Henry Petty, 331; Lord Althorp, 145; Lord Palmerston, 128. In 1807, Lord Palmerston was returned for the borough of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and accepted the office of a Lord of the Admiralty in the administration formed by the Duke of Portland, on the dismissal of the Grenville ministry. At the general election in the same year he again offered himself for the University of Cambridge, and was defeated by the Attorney-General, Sir Vicary Gibbs, by only two votes; the numbers being, Earl of Euston, 324; Sir Vicary Gibbs, 312; Lord Palmerston, 310; Lord Henry Petty, 265. Lord Palmerston was appointed Secretary of War, 1809, and it is no small testimony to the talents with which he fulfilled the arduous duties of that important office, that he continued to hold it till 1828, under the several administrations of Perceval, Liverpool, Canning, and Goderich.

Pitt with Mr. Tierney. But although sanctioned by such names, and the names of others now on the public stage, the duel is an irrational and unchristian institution.

The hopes of the King and those who acted provisionally as his advisers were now directed to the Marquess Wellesley, and messengers were dispatched to Seville to ascertain his Lordship's inclinations. A delay of several weeks occurred, and during the interval much uneasiness was felt by the country,—left in that critical juncture almost without a Ministry. The journals of the day were occupied with various speculations; but they were pretty unanimous in favour of the appointment of the ex-Governor-General of India to an influential post in the Cabinet; such was the prestige of his name that the public were impressed with the opinion that the aspect of affairs would be materially altered by his accession to office. His Lordship's return was anxiously awaited, and his arrival was warmly greeted. The *Times* of the 25th of November, 1809, thus remarks on the current rumour that he had joined the Administration:—"Lord Wellesley's acceptance of office is regarded by the supporters of the Ministry as an event equally favourable to the future interests of the country and the permanency of the new arrangements. By his accession the keystone of the arch is supplied, which the current of public opinion, however violent or adverse its direction, can, it is supposed, neither injure nor undermine." A few days subsequently the following announcement appeared in the *London Gazette*:—

"*At a Court at the Queen's Palace, the 6th Dec.*, 1809.

Present,

"The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

"His Majesty having been pleased to appoint the Most Noble Richard, Marquess Wellesley, K.P., to be one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, he was this day sworn one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State accordingly."

It was followed in a few days by another announcement:—

"Foreign Office, December, 1809.

"The King has been pleased to appoint the Honourable Henry Wellesley to be His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Catholic Majesty Ferdinand the Seventh; and has been pleased to direct him to reside in that character at the Seat or Supreme Junta of Spain."

The Marquess Wellesley being now invested with the direction and control of Foreign Affairs, and having placed at Seville one who was thoroughly acquainted with his Lordship's views respecting Spain, he was in a position to support energetically his gallant brother in the Peninsula,—sustaining with undaunted courage, under great privations, misrepresentations and obloquy, a contest against tremendous odds, unparalleled since the days of Fabius Maximus. The following composed the reconstructed Cabinet:—

Earl Camden, *President of the Council.*
Lord Eldon, *Lord High Chancellor.*

Earl of Westmoreland, *Lord Privy Seal.*

Lord Mulgrave, *First Lord of the Admiralty.*

Earl Chatham,* *Master-General of the Ordnance.*

Hon. R. Ryder, *Secretary of State for the Home Department.*

Marquess Wellesley, *Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

Earl of Liverpool,† *Secretary of State for War and Colonies.*

Hon. Mr. Perceval, *First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor and Treasurer of the Exchequer.*

Mr. R. Dundas, *President of the Board of Control.*

Earl Bathurst, *President of the Board of Trade.*

Mr. Rose, *Treasurer of the Navy.*

Viscount Palmerston, *Secretary at War.*

Lord C. H. Somerset, Hon. C. Long, *Paymasters-General.*

Earl of Sandwich, Earl of Chichester, *Postmasters-General.*

Mr. R. Wharton, Mr. C. Arbuthnot, *Joint Secretaries of the Treasury.*

Sir William Grant, *Master of the Rolls.*

Sir Vicary Gibbs, *Attorney-General.*

Sir Thomas Plumer, *Solicitor-General.*

On the 30th of October, 1809, his Grace William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Duke of Portland, died at Burlington House, Piccadilly, aged 71 years, after undergoing a painful surgical operation.

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* On the 2nd of March, 1810 the House of Commons passed a vote of censure on the Earl of Chatham, and his Lordship resigned.

† Previously known as Lord Hawkesbury.

Mr. Canning did not accept a place in the Perceval administration, and remained out of office till after the peace.

Fouché, the French Minister of Police, gives the following account in his Memoirs of an abortive negotiation for peace, opened with the Marquess Wellesley soon after Buonaparte's marriage with Maria Louisa of Austria :—

"I had sometimes the weakness to imagine that this once firmly established and at ease (the system of *surveillance*), Napoleon would adopt a system of government more paternal, and at the same time more conformable to our manners. Under this point of view the marriage with an Archduchess gave me hopes; but I felt more and more that the sanction of a general peace was indispensable. Could I not myself contribute to this peace, as I had coöperated by my impulse to the dissolution of a sterile connection, and to the alliance with Austria? If I succeeded in this object I might, from the importance of such a service, triumph over the prejudices of the Emperor and reconquer his confidence. But England was first to be sounded; I had the less hesitation from the change which had taken place in the composition of the English Ministry having given me some just grounds of hope. The ill-success of the greater part of its operations in this last campaign had excited the displeasure of the English nation and produced serious dissensions among the Ministers. Two among them, Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, had even gone so far as to fight a duel after having sent in their resignations. The Cabinet had hastened to recall from the Spanish embassy the Marquess Wellesley to succeed Mr. Canning in the place of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and to place at the head of the war department Earl Liverpool, formerly Lord Hawkesbury. Beside the cause of Spanish independence being almost desperate in consequence of the victory of Ocana and the occupation of Andalusia, I imagined that I should find the Marquess Wellesley more open to reasonable overtures; I therefore determined to reconnoitre the ground, and that in virtue of powers which I had frequently used of sending agents abroad.

"In this mission I employed M. Ouverard, for two reasons: first, because a political overture at London could scarcely be begun but under the mask of commercial operations: and next, because it was impossible to employ in so delicate an affair a man more broken into business, or of a more insinuating or persuasive character. But, as M. Ouverard could not, without inconvenience, enter into direct relations with Marquess Wellesley, I associated with him Mr. Fagan, an old Irish officer, who, being intrusted with the first dispatches, was to open to him, so to speak, the way to the British Minister.

"I determined that Mr. Ouverard should not set off till after the celebration of the marriage.

"Towards the end of April the Emperor set off with the Empress, to visit Middlebourg and Flessingen: he also went to Breda. His journey was fatal to me. The Emperor, struck with my reflections upon the necessity of a general peace, had endeavoured, without my knowledge, to open secret negotiations with the new English Minister, through the medium of a commercial house at Amsterdam. From this resulted a double negotiation and double propositions, which surprised Marquess Wellesley extremely. Both the Emperor's agents and mine, being equally suspected, met with similar refusal. The Emperor, surprised at so sudden and unexpected a conclusion, in order to discover the cause employed his foreign agents and counter-police. At first he had only vague information; but he was soon enabled to judge that his negotiations had been crossed by other agents, whose mission he was unacquainted with. His suspicions at first fell on M. de Talleyrand; but upon his return, having received fresh information, he discovered that M. Ouverard had made overtures, drawn up without his knowledge, to the Marquess Wellesley; and, as M. Ouverard was known to be connected with me, it was inferred that I had given him instructions. On the 2nd of June, being at St. Cloud, the Emperor asked me what M. Ouverard had gone to England for? "To ascertain for me the sentiments of the new Ministry relative to peace, in conformity to the idea I had the honour to submit to your Majesty before your marriage." "So," replied the Emperor, "you make war and peace without my being a party." He left us, and gave orders to Savary to arrest M. Ouverard, and to conduct him to Vincennes; at the same time I was forbidden to have any communication with the prisoner. The next day the portfolio of the police was given to Savary. It was this time a "real disgrace."

CHAPTER VII.

Posture of the Disputes with the United States of America when Marquess Wellesley became Foreign Secretary.—Origin of the Controversies which ended in the War between England and America in 1812.—Buonaparte's Milan Decrees against British Commerce, and Revival of the Resolutions of the Revolutionary Directory of France.—How Neutral States are affected by War.—The Right of Visitation and Search.—Impressment of Englishmen on board American Vessels.—Negotiations.—Collisions.—British Deserters protected by the American Courts of Justice.—Blockades in their bearing on Neutral Ships.—Buonaparte's Violations of the Law of Nations by the Milan Decrees.—United States bound to compel France to rescind them.—She declines to do so.—This circumstance the Justification of the British Orders in Council.—Presumption, that as Americans had not resented the infringement of her Neutral Rights by France, she could not make Retaliation a *casus belli* with Great Britain.—Great Excitement in America respecting the Trade with the Colonies of the Enemy.—Lord Hawkesbury's Representations.—Adverse Decisions of the Court of Admiralty.—The American Government order all the Ships of England and France instantly to quit their Harbours, and lay an Embargo upon all their own Vessels, preventing them from trading with England or France.—Violent Proceeding of Buonaparte.—The Emperor confiscates all American Property in France.—Conciliatory Speech of his Britannic Majesty, Marquess Wellesley being then Foreign Minister.—Correspondence between Wm. Pinkney, Esq., the American Envoy, and the Marquess Wellesley, his Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

When the Marquess Wellesley assumed the direction of Foreign Affairs, he found this country involved in an angry controversy with the United States of America, which threatened to embroil this kingdom in a war with the western republic. This controversy originated in the Berlin and Milan Decrees,—promulgated by Buonaparte with the view to crush the commerce of England, by declaring the coasts of the British Isles and of all British dependencies to be in a state of blockade,—and in the orders in council, published by the British Government as measures of defensive retaliation. The position of the ships of neutral states during the prevalence of hostilities between two great powers, is necessarily exceedingly unfavourable, and at all times it has a tendency to promote irritation and jealousy between the neutral and belligerents.

So long, however, as belligerent states act strictly in conformity with the known and established law of nations, the inconveniences to which neutrals are subjected form no just ground for complaint on the part of a neutral; which, if itself involved in war, would be at liberty to take advantage of the same rights of war, invariably acknowledged by the law of nations,—which is of universal application. A great deal of dissatisfaction was, as might have been expected, felt in America, at the assertion of the right of visitation and search by British cruizers, and by the confiscation of all vessels engaged in carrying articles contraband of war. Yet, although this proceeding was made the subject of much declamation and popular clamour in the Republic, no right is more clearly recognised by the law of nations. It has been claimed and exercised by the United States herself; the decisions of the American Courts are as distinct upon it as the decisions of the English Admiralty. Kent lays it down as forcibly as Chitty.

But the British Government did not confine their search in neutral ships to *articles* contraband of war;

they insisted upon their right to search for deserters from the British service, and to impress English seamen navigating American vessels.* This was, to say the least of it, stretching the law of nations to its very limit. The power of impressing seafaring-men for the sea service by the commission of the Crown, has always been submitted to with great reluctance in England: the right itself for some time was a matter of dispute. The statute 2 Richard II. c. 4. it is true, speaks of mariners being arrested and retained for the King's service as of a thing well known and practised without dispute, and provides a remedy against their running away; and the legality of impressment is now fully established. Still, it is a custom repugnant to men's feelings; and it is not difficult to see that the enforcement of the right of impressment on the decks of American ships, was liable to a great many objections. First, Because from the similarity of names, features, language and customs, American citizens must often have been mistaken for British subjects, and therefore forcibly compelled to serve in the English navy. Secondly, Because an American ship was liable to great danger from being deprived of its navigators, or a considerable portion of them, on the high seas. On the other hand, the King of England had, according to the law of nature and nations, as well as by our own municipal laws, a claim upon the allegiance and assistance of the natural-born subjects of this realm. The case was clearly one for negotiation; and could only have been satisfactorily arranged by a convention between England and America.

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* Merchant-ships are here intended. The right of search does not extend to armed or commissioned vessels.

Of the abstract right of England, however, according to the strict rules of public law, to seize deserters, or subjects who had withdrawn from their lawful allegiance, even on board American ships, in case of the refusal of that power to devise measures to prevent their being harboured in their fleets, there seems to have been no doubt. Several hostile collisions having taken place between the English and Americans,* a conference was held in London on this subject in 1806, by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinkney on the part of the United States, and by Lord Holland and Lord Auckland on the part of this country; the former professing their desire to acquiesce in any measures that could be devised to prevent deserters from the British navy from finding refuge in the American territory, or shelter on board American ships. Lord Auckland and Lord Holland declined, in the absence of any check to the employment of British deserters, or of subjects of the Crown withdrawing from lawful allegiance, in American ships, to abolish the system of impressment on the high seas. They asked, if the subjects of an enemy are not protected from a belligerent by the neutrality of the vessel in which they are found, on what principle it could be alleged that the subjects of the belligerent, which institutes the search, are entitled to protection? They contended that it was impossible to maintain that the belligerent might seize what belongs to its enemy without violating neutral rights, and yet not lawfully reclaim what was its own. Lord Holland and Lord Auckland, however, delivered an official note to Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney, pledging the Government of Great Britain "to issue instructions for the observance of the greatest caution in the impressing of British seamen, and of the greatest care to preserve citizens of the United States from any molestation or injury sustained by them;" and engaging besides, "at a future period, to entertain the discussion of any plan that should be devised to secure the interests of both states without any injury to rights to which they are respectively attached."

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* *Vide* the case of the *Leander*, 1806; and of the *Chesapeak*, 1809.

The American Government having refused to ratify the treaty agreed to by their negotiators, and their courts of justice having decided that deserters from British ships ought not to be surrendered * to the

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* Case of the men arrested as deserters from the frigate *L'Africaine*, by John Hunter, Esq., Sheriff of Baltimore, at the request of William Wood, Esq., British Consul for the Port at Baltimore. An *habeas corpus* was applied for to Judge Scott, on behalf of seven men, arrested and held in custody by the Sheriff, at the request and on the statement of the British Consul that they were deserters, by their counsel. The *habeas corpus* was issued as prayed for, returnable next morning at nine o'clock. Accordingly the men were brought up amidst an immense concourse of citizens, who filled the Court-House and neighbouring street, and the Sheriff made return that he had arrested and detained the men in custody in virtue of the following from the British Consul:—

"British Consul's Office, Baltimore, Sep. 6th, 1809.

"Sir,

"Having received information that thirteen seamen have deserted from *L'Africaine* frigate, and are now in this city, I have to request that you will be pleased to secure them till they can be sent on board. I am, &c., Wm. Wood."

The Judge said that he had conceived it his duty to give notice to Mr. Wood (the British Consul) of the application, so that he might appear and shew cause, if any he had, why the men should be detained. In the course of a few minutes Mr. Wood came into court, and the counsel for the prisoners, Messrs. Glenn and J. L. Donaldson, moved the court that the men be discharged, sufficient cause for their detention not appearing on the return. Mr. Wood's counsel (Mr. Walter Dorsey) requested to

British authorities, the question of impressment continued to be a source of strife between the two nations.

But however grievous the right of search conducted on these stringent principles was, the enforcement of general blockades by both France and Great Britain was still more galling to the Americans. Yet nothing can be clearer than the right of belligerents to institute blockades, and capture and confiscate the vessels of neutrals attempting to violate them. The United States had not at this period become sufficiently interested in maintaining inviolate the law of nations, to submit to its inconveniences, without making its enforcement a cause of quarrel. The decisions of the American courts of judicature now, however, fully coincide with those of the English Admiralty courts upon this important subject.

Buonaparte contended that no maritime power had a right to blockade the mouths of rivers, or places undefended by a military force; but this doctrine was contrary to the public law prevailing in Europe for centuries, and Great Britain peremptorily refused to adopt it.

The inconvenience of the blockades instituted by Great Britain and France to the United States of Ame-

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be allowed time to inquire into the law; and said that they would be ready to prove that these men were deserters from his Britannic Majesty's ships. The counsel for the prisoners objected to the delay. The Chief Justice stated that the opinion of the Secretary of State had satisfied him that deserters from British vessels ought not to be arrested or detained under the authority of the Government of the United States for the purpose of delivering them up to the officers of the British Government; he therefore ordered the prisoners to be immediately discharged. The audience expressed their approbation of his decision by three loud and tumultuous huzzas, and carried off the deserters in triumph.

rica was, again, greatly aggravated by Buonaparte's Milan Decrees and the British orders in council, which formed the subject of frequent discussions in and out of Parliament for some years. *The French Emperor declared every part of the coast of Great Britain and Ireland and their dependencies, to be in a state of blockade.* It would be impossible for any power, or combination of powers, to *enforce* such a blockade; and according to the law of nations, no blockade can be considered a regular and lawful one, unless the places blockaded be encircled with such a force as would render it dangerous for a neutral ship to attempt to enter. Buonaparte, in effect, said to the Americans, "No American ship shall enter any British port. I have determined to cut off communication between the British Isles and every nation under heaven!"

Buonaparte here exceeded the law of nations, and in thus promulgating afresh the orders of the Revolutionary Directory, the American Government had a just ground of complaint against France. It became the duty of the United States to compel France to withdraw the Berlin and Milan Decrees. Whether from fear of Buonaparte, or sympathy with the French Emperor, the United States *did not* compel the Government of France to abrogate those decrees.

What then was England bound, in self-defence, to do? Was she to submit to a constructive blockade which Buonaparte had no means of enforcing, but which completely cut off from her the commerce of the United States, while she, with ample naval forces at her disposal, permitted the Americans to trade with those parts of France not in a state of blockade? Was

Buonaparte to be allowed to take advantage of his own wrong? The *onus* lay upon the American Government, as the power whose neutral rights were invaded by the Milan decrees, to compel France to withdraw those ordinances as contrary to the international law. The Americans declined to do so; and in this circumstance only can we see a justification of the British orders in council,—which retaliated upon France for a breach of the law of nations, by a regulation which was in itself an infraction of those very laws!

It might certainly have been argued or assumed, that as the United States had not upheld her neutral rights against France, the first aggressor, she could not fairly make a measure of retaliation a *casus belli* with Great Britain. It ultimately appeared that the Americans did not feel themselves bound by any such considerations.

Great excitement had also been caused in America by the decisions of our Admiralty courts respecting the trade of the Americans with the colonies of the enemy. In the year 1801 Lord Hawkesbury, on the part of Great Britain, had communicated to Mr. Rufus King, the American Envoy, the opinion of his Majesty's Judge Advocate General Sir John Nichol, to the following effect:—

" It is now distinctly understood, that the produce of the colonies of the enemy *may be imported by a neutral into his own country, and may be reëxported from thence even to the mother coutnry of such colony.* The *direct* trade, however, between the mother country and its colonies has not, I apprehend, been recognised as legal, either by his Majesty's Government or by his tribunals. What is a direct trade, or what amounts to an intermediate importation into the neutral country, may sometimes be a question of some difficulty. *But the High Court of Admiralty has expressly decided, that landing the goods and paying the duties in the neutral country breaks the continuity of the voyage, and is such an importation as legalizes the trade, although the goods be reshipped in the same vessel, and on account of the same neutral proprietors, and be forwarded for sale to the mother country.*"

It was ruled in our Admiralty Court, that the proof of payment of duties in America was not sufficient evidence of a *bonâ fide* importation into that country;* the effect of which was, that several American ships were seized and confiscated, although their owners, relying on Lord Hawkesbury's note, had supposed that the trade was perfectly lawful. Public meetings were held in all parts of the United States to denounce the conduct of this country, and the commercial relations between the two nations were necessarily reduced to a most precarious and unsatisfactory position.

In 1808, Buonaparte having by a decree from Hamburgh endeavoured to carry out more rigidly than ever his "continental system," the English Government issued an order in council, allowing neutrals to trade with the enemy under certain restrictions, on condition of touching at a British port and paying the British custom duties,—a proceeding the justice or policy of which it is difficult to comprehend.

The Americans now took a step which complicated matters still farther, and which inflicted severe losses both upon Englishmen and Americans. On the 22nd of December, 1808, they passed a Non-intercourse Act, preventing French or English ships from entering their ports and laying an embargo upon all vessels belonging to the United States, and commanding all the ships of the belligerents in their harbours instantly to quit, with or without cargoes!

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* *Vide* the case of the *Essex*, 1805; and of the *William*, 1806.

Buonaparte, seeing that all through the controversy the Americans were 'as timorous as women in their relations with France,' resented the Non-intercourse Act by an act of daring spoliation. On the 14th of May, 1810, a decree was published at Paris, bearing date from Rambouillet, March the 23rd, and declaring, that "all vessels under the flag of the United States, or owned, either in whole or in part, by an American subject, which, since the 20th of May, 1808, had entered, or should thereafter enter any of the ports, either of the empire or colonies of France, or of the countries occupied by the French armies, should be confiscated, and the produce deposited in the *caisse d'amortissement*, or sinking fund."

Such was the state of the relations of England and the United States when the Marquess Wellesley commenced the subjoined correspondence,—which it is scarcely necessary to commend to the attention of the politicians of this kingdom, as well as of America. As a contrast to the violent proceedings of Buonaparte, the conciliatory tone of the King's speech towards the United States on the opening of Parliament in January 1810, (about two months after the appointment of the Marquess Wellesley,) deserves especially to be noticed. His Majesty regretted the sudden and unexpected interruption of the intercourse between his Envoy and the Government of the United States; he had, however, he said, received the strongest assurance from the resident American Minister, that the United States were desirous of maintaining friendly relations between the two countries, and that desire would be met by a corresponding disposition on his part.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO MR. PINKNEY.

"Foreign Office, March 2nd, 1810.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th ultimo, wherein you request to be informed whether any, and, if any, what blockades of France instituted by Great Britain during the present war, before the 1st day of January, 1807, are understood by his Majesty's Government to be in force? I have now the honour to acquaint you that the coast, the rivers, and ports from the river Elbe and Brest, both inclusive, were notified to be under the restrictions of blockade, with certain modifications, on the 16th of May, 1806; and that those restrictions were afterwards comprehended in the order in council of the 7th of January, 1807, which order is still in force. I have the honour to be, &c., WELLESLEY."

"Wm. Pinkney, Esq."

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO MR. PINKNEY.

"Foreign Office, 14th March, 1810.

"SIR,

"The letter which I had the honour to receive from you under date the 2nd of January, together with the additional paragraph received on the 22nd of January, has been laid before the King.

"The several conferences which I have held with you respecting the transactions to which your letter refers, have, I trust, satisfied you that it is the sincere desire of his Majesty's Government on the present occasion to avoid any discussion which might obstruct the renewal of amicable intercourse between the two countries.

"The correspondence between Mr. Jackson and Mr. Smith has been submitted to his Majesty's consideration.

"His Majesty has commanded me to express his concern that the official communication between his Majesty's Minister in America, and the Government of the United States, should have been interrupted before it was possible for his Majesty by any interposition of his authority to manifest his invariable disposition to maintain the relations of amity with the United States.

"I am commanded by his Majesty to inform you that I have received from Mr. Jackson the most positive assurances that it was not his purpose to give offence to the Government of the United States by any expression contained in his letters, or by any part of his conduct.

"The expressions and conduct of his Majesty's Minister in America having, however, appeared to the Government of the United States to be exceptionable, the usual course in such cases would have been to convey in the first instance to his Majesty a formal complaint against his Minister, and to desire such redress as might be deemed suitable to the nature of the alleged offence.

"This course of proceeding would have enabled his Majesty to have made such arrangements, or to have offered such seasonable explanations as might have precluded the inconvenience which must always arise from the suspension of official communications between friendly powers.

"His Majesty, however, is always disposed to pay the utmost attention to the wishes and sentiments of states in amity with him; and he has therefore been pleased to direct the return of Mr. Jackson to England.

"But his Majesty has not marked with any expression of his displeasure the conduct of Mr. Jackson, whose integrity, zeal, and ability have long been distinguished in his Majesty's service, and who does not appear on the present occasion to have committed any intentional offence against the Government of the United States.

"I am commanded to inform you that Mr. Jackson is ordered to deliver over the charge of his Majesty's affairs in America to a person properly qualified to carry on the ordinary intercourse between the two Governments, which his Majesty is sincerely desirous of cultivating on the most friendly terms.

"As an additional testimony of this disposition, I am authorised to assure you that his Majesty is ready to receive, with sentiments of undiminished amity and good will, any communication which the Government of the United States may deem beneficial to the mutual interests of both countries, through any channel of negotiation which may appear advantageous to that Government. I request, &c., WELLESLEY."

"W. Pinkney, Esq."

MR. PINKNEY TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Great Cumberland Place, March 17th, 1810.

"MY LORD,

"I have the honour to receive your Lordship's letter of the 14th instant, in reply to mine of the 2nd of January, and will lose no time in transmitting it to my Government. I have the honour to be, &c.,

"WM. PINKNEY."

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO MR. PINKNEY.

"Foreign Office, 26th March, 1810.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant, requesting a further explanation of my letter of the 2nd, concerning the blockades of France, instituted by Great Britain during the present war, before the 1st day of January 1807.

"The blockade notified by Great Britain in May 1806, has never been formally withdrawn. It cannot therefore be accurately stated that the restrictions which it established rest altogether on the order in council of the 7th of January, 1807: they are comprehended under the more extensive restrictions of that order. No other blockade of the ports of France, or of ports in the occupation of France, was instituted by Great Britain, between the 16th of May 1806 and the 7th of January 1807, excepting the blockade of Venice, instituted on the 27th of July 1806, which is still in force. I beg you to accept the assurances, &c. WELLESLEY."

"W. Pinkney, Esq."

MR. PINKNEY TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Great Cumberland Place, April 30th 1810.

"MY LORD,

"The French Minister for Foreign Affairs has stated in an official note to General Armstrong, the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, that 'the only condition required for the revocation by the French Government of the decree of Berlin will be the previous revocation by the British Government of her blockades of France, or parts of France, (such as that from the Elbe to Brest, &c.) of a date anterior to the date of the aforesaid decree.'

"I had supposed that the blockades of France instituted by Great Britain before the date of the Berlin Decree, were already withdrawn virtually, though not formally, by reason of the restrictions which they established having been provided for and comprehended in certain orders in council, issued after the date of that decree; and your Lordship's letter to me of the 26th of last month certainly seems to confirm that supposition with regard to the blockade of

May, 1806, although it proves it to be erroneous with regard to the only other blockade which falls within the description of the French Minister's communication,—namely, the blockade of Venice, established in July of the same year.

As I am anxious to neglect nothing which may have a tendency to produce the repeal of the Berlin Decree, and of such other decrees and orders as the Government of the United States has from time to time complained of, I beg to inquire of your Lordship, with a view to the terms of the above-mentioned note to General Armstrong, whether there exists any objection on the part of his Majesty's Government to a revocation (or to a declaration that they are no longer in force) of the blockades in question, especially that of May, 1806. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) WM. PINKNEY."

"The Marquess Wellesley, &c."

MR. PINKNEY TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Great Cumberland Place, August 25th, 1810.

"MY LORD,

"I have the honour to state to your Lordship that I have received from General Armstrong, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, a letter bearing date the 6th instant, in which he informs me that the Government of France has revoked the Decrees of Berlin and Milan, and that he has received a written and official notice of that fact in the following words: '*Je suis autorisé à vous déclarer, Monsieur, que les* *décrets de Berlin et de Milan sont révoqués, et qu'à du 1er Novembre, ils cesseront d'avoir leur effet.'*

"I take for granted that the revocation of the British orders in council of January and November 1807 and April 1809, and of all other orders dependent upon and analogous to, or in execution of them, will follow of course; and I shall hope to be enabled by your Lordship, with as little delay as possible, to announce to my Government that such revocation has taken place. I have the honour to be, &c.

"WM PINKNEY."

"The Marquess Wellesley, &c."

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO MR. PINKNEY.

"Foreign Office, August 31st, 1810.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter under date the 25th instant.

"On the 23rd of February, 1808, his Majesty's Minister in America, declared to the Government of the United States, 'his Majesty's earnest desire to see the commerce of the world restored to that freedom which is necessary for its prosperity, and his readiness to abandon the system which had been forced upon them, whenever the enemy should retract the principles which had rendered it necessary.'

"I am commanded by his Majesty to repeat that declaration, and to assure you that whenever the repeal of the French decrees shall have actually taken effect, and the commerce of neutral nations shall have been restored to the condition in which it stood previously to the promulgation of those decrees, his Majesty will feel the highest satisfaction in relinquishing a system which the conduct of the enemy compelled him to adopt. I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

"W. Pinkney, Esq."

MR. PINKNEY TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Great Cumberland Place, September 21st, 1810.

"MY LORD,

"On the 30th of April last I had the honour to address a note to your Lordship, in which, upon the inducements which it stated, I took the liberty to inquire whether there was any objection on the part of his Majesty's Government to a revocation, or to a declaration that they were no longer in force, of the British blockades of France of a date anterior to the Berlin Decree.

"In a second note of the 23rd of June, I had the honour to recall your Lordship's attention to the inquiry, and to add, that my Government expected from me a communication upon it. And on the 8th of August, it was again brought to your Lordship's recollection in the same mode. It was, moreover, mentioned in several conversations after the delivery of my first note, which had in fact been preceded by verbal explanations on my part, as well as by an abortive correspondence in writing to which some of those explanations were preparatory.

"If I had been so fortunate as to obtain for my hitherto unanswered inquiry, the notice which I had flattered myself it might receive, and to which I certainly thought it was recommended by the plainest considerations of policy and justice, it would not, perhaps, have been necessary for me to trouble your Lordship with this letter, the purpose of which is in very few words to remind his Majesty's Government, in pursuance of my instructions, of the sentiments and expectations of the Government of the United States respecting such British blockades as that which my inquiry principally regarded.

"Those sentiments and expectations are so well explained in two letters from Mr. Secretary Madison of the 27th of October, 1803, to Mr. Thornton, and of the 3rd of June, 1806, to Mr. Merry, that little more is required in the execution of my instructions on this occasion, than that I should refer your Lordship to the copies of those letters which are herewith transmitted.

Your Lordship will perceive that the strong and conclusive objections in law and reason to be found in these papers (especially in the first, which was occasioned by a communication from the British Consul at New York, of a notice from Commodore Hood, of July 1803, that the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe were, and for some time had been, blockaded,) apply to several blockades which Great Britain has lately pretended to establish; but in a particular manner to that of May 1806 (from the Elbe to Brest inclusive); to that in the spring of 1808, of the whole island of Zealand, and to that in March 1809, of the isles of Mauritius and Bourbon.

"The Government of the United States can discover no just foundation for these and other similar attempts to blockade entire coasts by notifications with which the fact has no correspondence. It views them as unwarrantable prohibitions of intercourse, rather than regular blockades; and as resembling, in all their essential qualities, the extraordinary decrees and orders which for the last four years have nearly obliterated every trace of the public law of the world, and discouraged by menaces of hostile interruption, and pursued with seizure and confiscation, the fairest and most innocent trade of neutral merchants.

"It may now be hoped that those decrees and orders are about to disappear for ever; and I think I may presume that, as my Government expects, no blockade, like that of May 1806, will survive them.

"Your Lordship has informed me in a recent note, that it is 'his Majesty's earnest desire to see the commerce of the world restored to that freedom which is necessary for its prosperity.' And I cannot suppose that this freedom is understood to be consistent with most constructive blockades which may be so expanded at pleasure as, without the aid of any new device, to oppress and annihilate every trade but that which England thinks fit to license. It is not, I am sure, to *such* freedom that your Lordship can be thought to allude. I am the more inclined to be confident on this point because I have now before me a well-known official exposition, conceived in terms the most exact, of the British doctrine of blockades as it stood in 1804, contained in the reply of Mr. Merry, his Majesty's Minister in America, to the very able remonstrance above mentioned from Mr. Madison to Mr. Thornton.

"In that reply (of the 12th of April, 1804,) it is formally announced to the Government of the United States 'by his Majesty's command, signified to Mr. Merry by the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,' that for 'redressing the grievance complained of,' by the American Government, orders had been sent to Commodore Hood (and the necessary directions to the Vice-Admiralty courts in the West Indies and America) 'not to consider any blockade of the Islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe as existing, unless in respect of particular ports which might be actually invested; and then not to capture vessels bound for such ports, *unless they should previously have been warned not to enter them.*

"It is natural to conclude, that though the 'grievance' which this frank communication condemns, has been since so often repeated as almost to make us lose sight of the rule in the multitude of its violations, your Lordship could not speak of the restoration of the just freedom of commerce as an event desired by Great Britain, without some reference to the neglected doctrine of this paper, and without some idea of reviving it.

"With regard to the blockade of May 1806, I regret that I have failed to obtain an admission apparently warranted by facts and invited by circumstances, that it is not in force. Your Lordship's answers to my letters of the 15th of February and 7th of March last, appear to justify the opinion that this blockade sunk into the orders in council of 1807, with which it was perfectly congenial. It can scarcely be said that since the promulgation of those orders, there has been even a show of maintaining it as an actual blockade by a stationary force adequate or inadequate, distributed with that view along the immense line of coast it affected to embrace. And if it has not been constantly so maintained, nor even attempted to be maintained as an actual blockade, but has yielded its function since 1807 to orders in council, neither being nor professing to be actual blockades, it may, I imagine, be very safely asserted that it exists no longer. But as this conclusion has not been adopted, but has rather been resisted by your Lordship, it is my duty in transmitting the enclosed copy of an act of Congress of the United States, passed on the 1st of May, 1810, entitled 'An act concerning the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France, and their dependencies, and for other purposes,' to state to your Lordship that an annulment of the blockade of May 1806, is considered by the President to be as indispensable in the view of that act as the revocation of the British orders in council. I have the honour to be, &c., WM. PINKNEY."

"The Marquess Wellesley, &c."

MR. MADISON TO MR. THORNTON.

(First Enclosure.)

"Department of State, October 27th, 1803.

"It will not escape your attention that Commodore Hood's letter is dated no less than three months before it could have the effect of a notification; and that besides this remarkable delay, the alleged blockade is computed from a date more than one month prior to that of the letter itself. But these circumstances, however important they may be, do not constitute the main objection to the proceeding of the British commander. His letter, *instead of stating that a particular port or ports were blockaded by a force actually before them, declares generally two entire and considerable islands to be in a state of blockade.* It can never be admitted that the trade of a neutral nation, in articles not contraband, can be legally obstructed to any place not actually blockaded, or that any notification or proclamation can be of force unless accompanied with an actual blockade. The law of nations is, perhaps, more clear on no other point than on that of a siege or a blockade, such as will justify a belligerent nation in restraining the trade of neutrals. Every term used in defining the case, imports the presence and position of a force rendering access to the prohibited place manifestly difficult and dangerous. Every jurist of reputation, who treats with precision on this branch of the law of nations, refers to an actual and particular blockade. Not a single treaty can be found, which undertakes to define a blockade in which the definition does not exclude a general or nominal blockade, by limiting it to the case of a sufficient force, so disposed as to amount to an actual and particular blockade. To a number of such treaties Great Britain is a party. Not to multiply references on the subject, I confine myself to the fourth article of the convention of June 1801, between Great Britain and Russia, which having been entered into for the avowed purpose 'of settling an invariable determination of their principles upon the rights of neutrality,' must necessarily be considered as a solemn recognition of an existing right and a general principle and right, not as a stipulation of any new principle or right limited to the parties themselves. The article is in the words following:— 'That in order to determine what characterises a blockaded port, that denomination is given only to a port where there is by the dispositions of the power which attacks it with ships stationary or sufficiently near, an evident danger in entering.' It cannot be necessary to dwell upon the inconsistency of the kind of blockade declared by Commodore Hood, with the principle laid down concerning the rights of neutrality; or on the consequences of the principles on which a blockade of whole islands by a few ships is founded, to the commerce and interests of neutral nations. If the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe, the latter more than two hundred and fifty, and the former nearly one hundred and fifty miles in circumference, and each containing a variety of ports, can be blockaded by detachments from a Commodore's squadron; it is evident that a very inconsiderable portion of the British fleet may blockade all the maritime countries with which she is at war. In a word, such a principle completely sacrifices the rights of neutral commerce to the pleasure or policy of the parties at war. But it deserves to be particularly remarked, that a power to proclaim general blockades, or any blockade not formed by the real presence of a sufficient force, to be exercised by officers at a distance from the control of their Government, and deeply interested in enlarging the field of captures which they are to share, offers a temptation that must often aggravate the evils incident to the principle itself. You will infer, Sir, from these observations, the serious light in which the President regards the proceeding which is the subject of them; and will perceive the grounds on which the injuries accruing from it to our commerce will constitute just claims of indemnification from the British Government. To diminish the extent of these injuries as much as possible, and to guard the good understanding and friendly relations of every sort which are so desirable to both nations, against the tendency of such measures, will, I venture to assure myself, be sufficient motives with you to employ the interpositions with Commodore Hood, which you may think best adapted to the nature of the case. I have the honour to be, &c., JAMES MADISON."

"Edward Thornton, Esq., &c."

MR. MADISON TO MR. MERRY.

(Second Enclosure.)

"Department of State, June 3rd, 1806.

"SIR,

"Having transmitted to the President your letter of the 22nd ult. communicating the resolution of your Government to establish a blockade of the rivers Ems, Weser, Elbe and Trane, I have the honour now, in pursuance of his sentiments, to observe, that as a blockade essentially implies a force on the spot for the purpose, and as the notification required in the case must be a warning to neutral traders of the fact that a blockade exists, the communication which your Government has been pleased to make, derives its title to the acknowledgments of the United States from the supposition that it was meant as a friendly premonition, which, though imposing of itself no legal restraint on neutrals, nor inducing any penal consequences, might usefully influence the course of their mercantile expeditions. In this sense the communication is received by the President as a mark of friendly attention which ought, in all cases, to be reciprocally maintained; and in this sense he is the more disposed to regard the communication, as a different one would contradict the definitions of a blockade and the requisite notification thereof, contained in orders of your Government to Commodore Hood, and the Judges of the Vice-Admiralty courts as communicated in your letter of April the 12th, 1804. I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "JAMES MADISON."

"Anthony Merry, Esq., &c."

MR. PINKNEY TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Great Cumberland Place, November 3rd, 1810.

"MY LORD,

"In my note of the 25th of August I had the honour to state to your Lordship that I had received from the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, a letter dated the 6th of that month, in which he informed me that he had received from the French Government a written and official notice that it had revoked the Decrees of Berlin and Milan, and that after the 1st of November those decrees would cease to have any effect; and I expressed my confidence that the revocation of the British orders in council of January and November 1807, and April 1809, and of all other orders dependent upon or analogous to, or in execution of them, would follow of course.

"Your Lordship's reply of the 31st of August to that note repeated a declaration of the British Minister in America, made, as it appears, to the Government of the United States, in February 1805, of 'his Majesty's earnest desire to see the commerce of the world restored to that freedom which is necessary for its prosperity, and his readiness to abandon the system which had been forced upon him whenever the enemy should retract the principles which had rendered it necessary,' and added an official assurance that 'whenever the repeal of the French decrees should have actually taken effect and the commerce of neutral nations should have been restored to the constitution in which it stood previously to the promulgation of those decrees, his Majesty would feel the highest satisfaction in relinquishing a system which the conduct of the enemy compelled him to adopt.'

"Without departing in any degree from my first opinion, that the United States had a right to expect, upon every principle of justice, that the prospective revocation of the French decrees would be immediately followed by at least a like revocation of the orders of England, I must remind your Lordship that the day has now passed when the repeal of the Berlin and Milan edicts, as communicated to your Lordship in the above-mentioned note, and published to the whole world by the Government of France in the *Moniteur* of the 9th of August, was, by the terms of it, to take effect. That it has taken effect cannot be doubted; and it can as little be questioned that, according to the repeated pledges given by the British Government on this point (to say nothing of various other powerful considerations), the prompt relinquishment of the system to which your Lordship's reply to my note of the 25th of August alludes, is indispensable.

"I need scarcely mention how important it is to the trade of the United States that the Government of Great Britain should lose no time in disclosing with frankness and precision its intentions on this head. Intelligence of the French repeal has reached America; and commercial expeditions have doubtless been founded upon it. It will have been taken for granted that the British obstructions to those expeditions having thus lost the support which, however insufficient in itself, was the only one that could ever be claimed for them, have been withdrawn, and that the seas are once more restored to the dominion of law and justice.

"I persuade myself that this confidence will be substantially justified by the event, and that to the speedy recall of such orders in council as were subsequent in date to the decrees of France will be added the annulment of the antecedent order to which my late letter respecting the blockades particularly relates. But if, notwithstanding the circumstances which invite such a course, the British Government shall have determined not to remove these obstructions with all practicable promptitude, I trust that my Government will be apprised, with as little delay as possible, of a determination so unexpected and of such vital concern to its rights and interests, and that the reasons upon which that determination may have been formed will not be withheld from it. I have the honour to be, &c.

"Wm. Pinkney."

"The Marquess Wellesley, &c."

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO MR. PINKNEY.

"Foreign Office, December 4th, 1810.

"Sir,

"After the most accurate inquiry, I have not been able to obtain any authentic intelligence of the actual repeal of the French decrees, to which your notes of the 25th of August and the 3rd of November refer, or of the restoration of the commerce of neutral nations to the condition in which it stood previously to the promulgation of those decrees.

"If you should be in possession of any such information, I should be happy to receive it from you, and for that purpose I request to have the honour of a conference with you at this office to-morrow, at two o'clock.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "Wellesley."

"Wm. Pinkney, Esq."

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO MR. PINKNEY.

"Foreign Office, December 6th, 1810.

"Sir,

"The importance of the verbal communication which I had the honour of receiving from you yesterday, induces me to request that you will have the goodness to commit the substance of it to writing at the earliest time which may suit your convenience.

"As soon as I shall have received such a written statement from you, I shall be anxious to return an official reply in the same form.

"Under these circumstances, perhaps, it may be unnecessary that you should take the trouble of calling at this office to-morrow.

"If, however, you should be desirous of seeing me, I shall be ready to have the honour of receiving you between two and three o'clock. I have the honour to be, &c.,. WELLESLEY,"

"W. Pinkney, Esq."

MR. PINKNEY TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Great Cumberland Place, December 10th, 1810.

"MY LORD,

"In compliance with the request contained in your note of the 6th instant, I proceed to recapitulate in this letter (with some variations, however,) the statements and remarks which I had the honour to make in our conference of the 5th instant, respecting the revocation of the French decrees, as connected with a change of system here on the subject of neutral rights.

"Your Lordship need not be told that I should have been happy to offer, at a much earlier moment, every explanation in my power on matters of such high concern to the rights and commerce of my country, and the future character of its foreign relations, if

I had been made to understand that explanation was desired.

"My written communications of August and November were concise, but they were not intended to be insufficient. They furnished evidence which I thought conclusive, and abstained from laboured commentary, because I deemed it superfluous. I had taken up an opinion which I abandoned reluctantly and late, that the British Government would be eager to follow the example of France in recalling, as it had professed to do in promulgating, that extraordinary system of maritime annoyance which, in 1807, presented to neutral trade, in almost all its directions, the hopeless alternative of inactivity or confiscation; which considered it as a subject to be regulated, like the trade of the United Kingdoms, by the statutes of the British Parliament; and undertook to bend and fashion it, by every variety of expedient, to all the purposes and even caprices of Great Britain. I had no idea that the remnant of that system, productive of no conceivable advantage to England, and deservedly odious for its theory and destructive effects to others, could survive the public declaration of France that the edicts of Berlin and Milan were revoked. Instructed at length, however, by your Lordship's continued silence, and alarmed for the property of my fellow-citizens, now more than ever exposed by an erroneous confidence to the ruinous operation of the British orders, I was preparing to support my general representations by detailed remonstrance, when I received the honour of your note of the 4th instant. In the conference which ensued, I troubled your Lordship with a verbal communication, of which the following is nearly the substance.

"The doubts which appear to stand in the way of the recall of the British orders in council (under which denomination I include certain orders of blockade of a kindred principle and spirit) must refer to the *manner*, or the *terms*, or the *practical effect*, of the alleged repeal of the decrees of France.

"That the *manner* of the proceeding is satisfactory to the British Government, cannot be questioned; since it is precisely that in which its own numerous orders for establishing, modifying, or removing blockades and other maritime obstructions, are usually proclaimed to neutral states and merchants.

"The French repeal was officially notified, on the 5th of August, to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, as I had the honour to inform your Lordship in my letter of the 25th of the same month, which not only gave the import, but (as the inclosed copy will show) adopted the words of General Armstrong's statement to me of the tenor and effect of that notice.

"On the 9th of August, the note to General Armstrong was published in the *Moniteur*, the official journal of the French Government, as the act of that Government, and thus became a formal declaration and a public pledge to all who had an interest in the matter of it.

"It would be a waste of time to particularise the numerous instances of analogous practice in England by which this course is countenanced; but a recent example happens to be before me, and may therefore be mentioned. The partial recall or modification of the English blockade of the ports and places of Spain from Gijon to the French territory, (itself known to my Government only through a circular notification to me, recited afterwards in the *London Gazette*,) was declared to the American and other Governments in exactly the same mode.

"I think it demonstrable that the *terms* in which the French revocation was announced, are just as free from well-founded objection as the *manner*.

"Your Lordship's view of them is entirely unknown to me; but I am not ignorant that there are those in this country who, professing to have examined them with care, and having certainly examined them with jealousy, maintain that the revocation on the 1st of November was to depend, by the obvious meaning of those terms, upon a condition precedent which has not been fulfilled, namely—the revocation by Great Britain of her orders in council, including such blockading orders as France complains of as illegal.

"If this were even admitted to be so, I am yet to learn upon what grounds of justice the British Government could decline to meet, by a similar act on its part, an advance thus made to it by its adversary in the face of the world towards a coöperation in the great work of restoring the liberty of the ocean; so far, at least, as respects the orders in council of 1807 and 1809, and such blockades as resemble them. It is not necessary, however, to take this view of the question; for the French revocation turns on no condition precedent; it is absolute, precise, and unequivocal.

"What construction of the document which declares that revocation might be made by determined suspicion and distrust I have no wish, and am not bound, to inquire. Such interpreters would not be satisfied by any form of words, and would be likely to draw the same conclusion from perfect explicitness and studied obscurity. It is enough for me that the fair and natural and necessary import of the paper affords no colour for the interpretation I am about to examine.

"The French declaration that the Decrees of Berlin and Milan are revoked, and that from the 1st of November they will cease to have any effect, is precision itself. But they are followed by these words: '*bien entendu qu'en conséquence de cette déclaration les Anglois révoqueront leurs arrêts du conseil, et renonceront aux nouveaux principes de blocus qu'ils ont voulu établir* ou bien *que les Etats Unis,* conformément à l'acte que vous venez de communiquer, *feront respecter leur droits par les Anglois.*'

"If these words state any condition, they state *two,* —the first depending upon Great Britain, the last upon the United States; and as they are put in the disjunctive it would be extravagant to hold that the non-performance of one of them is equivalent to the non-performance of both. I shall take for granted, therefore, that the argument against my construction of the Duke of Cadore's letter must be moulded into a new form. It must deal with two conditions instead of one, and considering them equally as conditions precedent to be performed (disjunctively) before the day limited for the operative commencement of the French repeal, must maintain that if *neither* of them should be performed before that day, the decrees were not to be revoked, and consequently, that as neither of them has been so performed, the decrees are still in force.

"If this hypothesis of previous conditions, thus reduced to the only shape it can assume, be proved to be unsound, my construction is at once established, since it is only upon that hypothesis that any doubt can be raised against the exact and perspicuous assurance that the decrees were actually repealed, and that the repeal would become effectual on the 1st of November. This hypothesis *is* proved to be unsound by the following considerations:

"It has clearly no foundation in the phraseology of the paper, which does not contain a syllable to put any condition before the repeal. The repeal is represented as a step already taken to have effect on a day specified. Certain consequences are indeed expected from this proceeding; but no day is given, either expressly or by implication, within which they are to happen. It is not said 'bien entendu que les Anglois *auront révoqués*, &c., but '*que les Anglois révoqueront*' &c. indefinitely as to time.

"The notion of conditions precedent is therefore, to say the least of it, perfectly gratuitous. But it is also absurd. It drives us to the conclusion that a palpable and notorious impossibility was intended to be prescribed as a condition in a paper which they who think it was meant to deceive, must admit was meant to be plausible.

"It was a palpable and notorious impossibility that the United States should, before the 1st of November, execute any condition, no matter what the nature of it, the performance of which was to follow the ascertained failure of a condition to be executed by Great Britain *at any time before the* 1*st of November.* That the act to be expected from the United States was to be consequent upon the failure of the other, is apparent. It is also apparent that, upon any interpretation which would make the act required of Great Britain a condition precedent to the French repeal, and consequently precedent to the 1st of November (when the repeal was, if ever, to take effect), that condition could not be said to have failed before the whole period from the 5th of August to the 1st of November had elapsed. But if Great Britain had the whole time within which to elect the course she would pursue, what opportunity would be left to the United States (equally bound, upon this idea of conditions precedent, to act their part within the same period) to become acquainted with that election, and to decide upon and take their own course in consequence, to say nothing of the transmission of such intelligence to Europe as would be indispensable to the efficacy of the conditional revocation.

" This general view would alone be sufficient to discredit the arbitrary construction under consideration. But it will be more completely exposed by an explanation of the nature of the act which the letter professes to expect from the United States, in case Great Britain should omit to revoke. This act is a revival of the Non-intercourse Law as to England, France remaining exempt from it as well as from the provisions of the subsequent law, commonly called the Non-Intercourse Act. Now if it is too plain, upon the face of the last-mentioned law (to which the letter expressly refers), to escape the most negligent and unskilful observer, that the revival could not, by any industry or chance, be accomplished before the time fixed for the cessation of the French decrees, or even for a considerable time afterwards, it certainly cannot be allowable to assume that the revival was required by the letter (whatever was the object of the writer or his Government) to precede the cessation. And if this was not required, it is incontrovertible that the cessation would, by the terms of the letter, take place on the appointed day, whether any of the events disjunctively specified had intervened or not.

"The first step towards a revival of the non-intercourse against England, would be the proclamation of the President that France had so revoked or modified her edicts as that they had ceased to violate the neutral commerce of the United States. But the letter of Monsieur Champagny left the decrees as it found them up to the 1st of November, and consequently up to that day it could not, for anything contained in that letter, be said that the rights of American commerce were no longer infringed by them. A prospective proclamation that would cease to violate those rights, might perhaps be issued; but it could scarcely have any substantial operation, either in favour of France, or to the prejudice of England, until the epoch to which it looked had arrived.

"Let it be admitted, however, that all physical and legal obstacles to the issuing, before the 1st of November, of a proclamation to take effect immediately, were out of the way,—how would such a proceeding fulfil of itself the expectation that the United States would, before the 1st of November, 'cause their rights to be respected by the English,' in the mode pointed out in the letter, namely, by the enforcement of the Non-Intercourse Law? The proclamation would work no direct or immediate consequence against England. Three months from its date must pass away before the Non-Intercourse Law could revive against her; and when it did so, the revival would not be the effect of the proclamation, but of the continued adherence of England to her obnoxious system. Thus, even if a proclamation, effectual from its date, had been issued by the President on the day when the French declaration of the repeal came to the hands of the American Minister at Paris, the intercourse between the United States and Great Britain would, on the first of November, have remained in the same condition in which it was found in August. As all this was well understood by the Government of France, the conclusion is, that its Minister, professing, too, to have the American law before him, and to expect only what was *conformable* with that *law*, did not intend to require the revival of the non-intercourse against England, as a condition to be performed before the 1st of November.

"It is worthy of remark, as introductory to another view of this subject, that even they who conclude that the repeal of the French decrees has failed, are not backward to ascribe to the French declaration a purpose utterly inconsistent with that conclusion. They suppose the purpose to have been to affect the existing relations between America and England, by the only means the declaration states, the Act of Non-Intercourse. And it is certain that, unless England should abandon particular parts of her system, this was the result avowedly in view and meant to be accomplished.

But there could be no hope of such a result without a previous effectual relinquishment of the French decrees. A case could not be otherwise made to exist (as the Duke of Cadore was aware), for such an operation of the American law. To put the law before the revocation was impossible. With the law in his hand, it would have been miraculous ignorance not to know that it was the exact reverse of this which his paper must propose. He would derive this knowledge not from that particular law only, but from the whole tenor and spirit of American proceedings in that painful and anomalous dilemma in which Great Britain and France, agreeing in nothing else, had recently agreed to place the maritime interests of America. He would collect from these proceedings, that while those conflicting powers continued to rival each other in their aggressions upon neutral rights, the Government of the United States would oppose itself impartially to both. The French declaration, then, had either no meaning at all, or it meant to announce to General Armstrong a positive revocation of the French edicts.

"I should only fatigue your Lordship by pursuing further a point so plain and simple. I will therefore merely add to what I have already said on this branch of the subject, that the strong and unqualified communication from General Armstrong to me, mentioned in the commencement of this letter, and corroborated by subsequent communications (one of which I now lay before you), may, perhaps, without any great effort of courtesy, be allowed to contain 'that authentic intelligence' which your Lordship is in search of. He could scarcely have been free from doubt, if the occasion was calculated to suggest it; and if he had really doubted, would hardly have spoken to me with the confidence of conviction.

"It only remains to speak of the *practical effect* of the French repeal. And here your Lordship must suffer me to remind you, that the orders of England in 1807, did not wait for the practical effect of the Berlin Decree, nor linger till the obscurity in which the meaning of that decree was supposed to be involved, should be cleared away by time or explanation. They came promptly after the decree itself, while it was not only ambiguous but inoperative, and raised upon an idle prohibition, and yet more idle declaration, which France had not attempted to enforce; and was notoriously incapable of enforcing a vast scheme of oppression upon the seas, more destructive of all the acknowledged rights of peaceful states than history can parallel. This retaliation, as it was called, was so rapid, that it was felt before the injury which was said to have provoked it; and yet that injury, such as it was, was preceded by the practical assertion on the part of Great Britain of new and alarming principles of public law, in the notification of the blockade of May 1806, and in the judicial decisions of the year before. To uphold the retaliatory orders, everything was presumed with surprising facility. Not only was an impotent, unexecuted, and equivocal menace presumed to be an active scourge of the commerce of neutral nations, but the acquiescence of those nations was presumed against the plainest evidence of facts. The alacrity with which all this was done, can never be remembered without regret and astonishment; but our regret and astonishment must increase if, after four years have been given to the pernicious innovation which these presumptions were to introduce and support, something like the same alacrity should not be displayed in seizing an honourable opportunity of discarding it for ever.

" It is not unnatural to imagine that it will be discarded with pleasure, when it is considered that having never been effectual as an instrument of hostility, it cannot now lay claim to those other recommendations for which it may have been heretofore prized. The orders in council have passed through some important changes; but they have been steady, as long as it was possible, to the purpose which first impressed upon them a character not to be mistaken.

" In their original plan, they comprehended, not only France, and such allied or dependent powers as had adopted the Edict of Berlin, but such other nations as had merely excluded from their ports the commercial flag of England. This prodigious expansion of the system was far beyond any intelligible standard of retaliation; but it soon appeared that the neutrals might be permitted to traffic, under certain restrictions, with all these different nations, provided they would submit, with a dependence truly colonial, to carry on their trade through British ports, and to pay such duties as the British Government should think fit to impose, and such charges as British agents and other British subjects might be content to make.

" The United States abstained from this traffic, in which they could not embark without dishonour; and in 1809 the system shrunk to narrower dimensions, and took the appearance of an absolute prohibition of all commercial intercourse with France, Holland, and the kingdom of Italy.

"The prohibition was absolute in appearance, but not in fact. It had lost something of former exuberance, but nothing of former pliancy, and in the event was seen to yield to the demands of *one* trade, while it prevented every other.

"Controlled and relaxed, and managed by licences, it did not, after brief exhibition of impartial sternness, affect to distress the enemy by the exclusion of his ports, when the commerce of *England* could advantageously find its way to them. At length, however, this convenience seems to be enjoyed no longer, and the orders in council may apparently be now considered (if indeed they ought not always to have been considered) as affecting England with a loss as heavy as that which they inflict on those whose rights they violate. In such circumstances, if it be too much to expect the credulity of 1807, it may yet be hoped that the evidence of the practical effect of the French repeal need not be very strong to be satisfactory. It is, however, as strong as the nature of the case will admit, as a few observations will show.

"On such an occasion it is no paradox to say that the want of evidence is itself evidence: that certain decrees are not in force, is proved by the absence of such facts as would appear if they were in force. Every motive which can be conjectured to have led to the repeal of the edicts invites to the full execution of that repeal, and no motive can be imagined for a different course. These considerations are alone conclusive.

"But further, it is known that American vessels, bound confessedly to England, have, before the 1st of November, been visited by French privateers, and suffered to pass, upon the foundation of the prospective repeal of the Decree of Berlin, and the proximity of the day on which it would become an actual one.

"If there were not even stronger facts to show that the Decree of Milan is also withdrawn, your Lordship can be at no loss for the reason. It cannot be proved that an American vessel is practically held by France not to be denationalized by British visitation, because your cruizers *visit* only to *capture* and compel the vessel visited to terminate her voyage, not in France but in England. You will not ask for the issue of an experiment which yourselves intercept, nor complain that you have not received evidence, which is not obtained because you have rendered it impossible. The vessel which formed the subject of my note of the 8th inst., and another more recently seized as a prize, would, if they had been suffered, as they ought, to resume their voyages after having been stopped and examined by English cruizers, have furnished on that point unanswerable proof; and I have reason to know that precise offers have been made to the British Government to put to a practical test the disposition of France in this respect, and that those offers have been refused. Your cruizers, however, have not been able to visit all American vessels bound to France, and it is understood that such as have arrived have been received with friendship.

"I cannot quit this last question without entering my protest against the pretension of the British Government to postpone that justice which it owes to my Government and country, for this tardy investigation of consequences. I am not able to comprehend upon what the pretension rests, nor to what limits the investigation can be subjected. If it were even admitted that France was more emphatically bound to repeal her almost nominal decrees than Great Britain to repeal her substantial orders (which will not be admitted), what more can reasonably be required by the latter than has been done by the former? The decrees are officially declared by the Government of France to be repealed. They were ineffectual as a material prejudice to England before the declaration, and must be so since. There is, therefore, nothing of substance left for this dilatory inquiry, which, if once begun, may be protracted without end, or at least till the hour for just and prudent decision has passed. But if there were room to apprehend that the repealed decrees might have some operation in case the orders in council were withdrawn, still, as there is no sudden and formidable peril to which Great Britain could be exposed by that operation, there can be no reason for declining to act at once upon the declaration of France, and leave it to the future to try its sincerity, if that sincerity be suspected.

"I have thus disclosed to your Lordship, with that frankness which the times demand, my view of a subject deeply interesting to our respective countries. The part which Great Britain may act on this occasion cannot fail to have important and lasting consequences, and I can only wish that they may be good.

"By giving up her orders in council, and the blockades to which my letter of the 21st of September relates, she has nothing to lose in character or strength. By adhering to them she will not only be unjust to others, but unjust to herself. I have the honour to be, &c. WM. PINKNEY."

"Marquess Wellesley, &c."

GENERAL ARMSTRONG TO MR. PINKNEY.

(Enclosure No. 1.)

"Paris, August 6th, 1810.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform you that his Majesty the Emperor and King has been pleased to revoke his Decrees of Berlin and Milan. Of this interesting fact I had this morning official notice in the following words, viz.:—*Je suis autorisé à vous déclarer, Monsieur, que les Décrets de Berlin et de Milan sont révoqués, et qu'à date du* 1*er Novembre, ils cesseront d'avoir leur effet.* Sincerely hoping that you may be able to turn this circumstance to some useful account, I forward it per triplicate. And am, Sir, with great respect, &c., (Signed) JOHN ARMSTRONG."

"Wm. Pinkney, Esq."

GENERAL ARMSTRONG TO MR. PINKNEY.

(Enclosure No. 2.)

"Paris, August 7th, 1810.

"Sir,

"I hazarded a line or two yesterday by way of Morlaix, merely to inform you that the Imperial Decrees of Berlin and Milan were at last given up.

"I now send you by a more direct conveyance a copy of the Duke of Cadore's letter to me of the 5th inst. And am Sir, with great respect,

"John Armstrong."

"Wm. Pinkney, Esq."

"N.B. This last letter was not received till the 29th of August, after Mr. Pinkney's note of the 25th to Lord Wellesley had been sent in. That note was founded on the letter of the 6th. W. P."

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO MR. ARMSTRONG.

(Translation of paper referred to in Enclosure No. 2.)

"Paris, August 5th, 1810.

"Sir,

"I have laid before his Majesty, the Emperor and King, the act of Congress of the 1st of May, taken from the Gazette of the United States which you have sent me.

"His Majesty could have wished that this act, and all the other acts of the Government of the United States which interest France, had always been officially made known to him. In general, he has only a knowledge of them indirectly, and after a long interval of time. There has resulted from this delay serious inconveniences, which would not have existed if these acts had been promptly and officially communicated.

"The Emperor had approved of the general embargo laid by the United States on all their vessels, because that measure, though it has been prejudicial to France, had in it, at least, nothing offensive to her honour. It has caused her to lose her colonies of Martinique, Guadaloupe and Cayenne: the Emperor has not complained of it. He has made this sacrifice to the principle which had determined the Americans to lay the embargo, inspiring them with the noble resolution of interdicting to themselves the ocean, rather than submit to the laws of those who wished to make themselves the tyrants of it.

"The Act of the 1st of March has raised the embargo, and substituted for it a measure most injurious to the interests of France, whilst it has authorised its continuance in favour of Spain, Naples, and Holland,—that is to say, to the countries under French influence, and denounced confiscation against all French vessels which should enter the ports of America. Reprisal was a right and commanded by the dignity of France,—a circumstance on which it was impossible to make a compromise. The sequestration of all the American vessels in France, has been the necessary consequence of the measure taken by Congress.

"The Congress is now retracing its steps; they revoke the Act of the 1st of March, the ports of America are open to French commerce, and France is no longer interdicted to the Americans. In short, Congress engages to oppose itself to that one of the belligerent powers which should refuse to acknowledge the rights of neutrals.

"In this new state of things, I am authorised to declare to you, Sir, that the Decrees of Berlin and Milan are revoked, and that after the 1st of November they will not be in force; it being understood that, in consequence of this declaration, the English shall revoke their orders in council, and renounce the new principles of blockade which they have attempted to establish, or that the United States, conformably to the act you have just communicated, shall cause their rights to be respected by the English.

"It is with the most particular satisfaction, Sir, that I make known to you this determination of the Emperor. His Majesty loves the Americans. Their prosperity and their commerce are within the scope of his policy.

"The independence of America is one of the principal titles to the glory of France. Since that epoch, the Emperor has taken pleasure in aggrandising the United States; and under all the circumstances, whatever can contribute to the independence, to the prosperity and liberty of the Americans, the Emperor will consider as conformable to the interests of his empire."

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO MR. PINKNEY.

"Foreign Office, December 29th, 1810.

"SIR,

"In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, I must express my regret that you should have thought it necessary to introduce into that letter any topics which might tend to interrupt the conciliatory spirit in which it is the sincere disposition of his Majesty's Government to conduct every negotiation with the Government of the United States.

"With an anxious desire to avoid all discussions of that tendency, I shall proceed, without any further observation, to communicate to you the view which his Majesty's Government has taken of the principal question which formed the object of my inquiry during our conference of the 5th instant. The letter of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister at Paris of the 5th of August, 1810, did not appear to his Majesty's Government to contain such a notification of the repeal of the French Decrees of Berlin and Milan as could justify his Majesty's Government in repealing the British orders in council. That letter states that 'the Decrees of Berlin and Milan are revoked, and that from the 1st of November, 1810, they will cease to be in force, it being understood that *in consequence of this declaration* the English shall revoke their orders in council and renounce the new principles of blockade which they have attempted to establish.' The purport of this declaration appeared to be, that the repeal of the Decrees of Berlin and Milan would take effect from the 1st of November *provided* that Great Britain, antecedently to that day, and *in consequence of this declaration*, should revoke the orders in council, *and* should renounce those principles of blockade which the French Government alleged to be new. A separate condition, relating to America, seemed also to be contained in this declaration, by which America might understand that the Decrees of Berlin and Milan would be actually repealed on the 1st of November, provided that America should resent any refusal of the British Government to renounce the new principles of blockade and to revoke the orders in council.

"By your explanation it appears that the American Government understands the letter of the French Minister as announcing an absolute repeal on the 1st of November, 1810, of the French Decrees of Berlin and Milan; which repeal is, however, not to continue in force unless the British Government, within a reasonable time after the 1st of November, 1810, shall fulfil the two conditions stated distinctly in the letter of the French Minister. Under this explanation, if nothing more had been required from Great Britain for the purpose of securing the continuance of the repeal of the French decrees than the repeal of our orders in council, I should not have hesitated to declare the perfect readiness of this Government to fulfil that condition. On these terms the British Government has always been sincerely disposed to repeal the orders in council. It appears, however, not only by the letter of the French Minister, but by your explanation, that the repeal of the orders in council will not satisfy either the French or American Government. The British

Government is further required by the letter of the French Minister to renounce those principles of blockade which the French Government alleges to be new. A reference to the terms of the Berlin Decree will serve to explain the extent of this requisition. The Berlin Decree states that Great Britain 'extends the right of blockade to commercial unfortified towns and to ports, harbours, and mouths of rivers, which, according to the principles and practices of all civilised nations, is only applicable to fortified places.'

"On the part of the American Government, I understand you to require that Great Britain should revoke her Order of Blockade of May 1806. Combining your requisition with that of the American Minister, I must conclude that America demands the revocation of that order of blockade as a practical instance of our renunciation of those principles of blockade which are condemned by the French Government in the Berlin Decree. Those principles of blockade Great Britain has asserted to be ancient, and established by the laws of maritime war, and acknowledged by all civilised nations, and on which depend the most valuable rights and interests of this nation. If the Berlin and Milan Decrees are to be considered as still in force, *unless* Great Britain shall renounce those established foundations of her maritime rights and interests, the period of time is not yet arrived when the repeal of her orders in council can be claimed from her, either with reference to the promise of this Government, or to the safety and honour of the nation. I trust that the justice of the American Government will not consider that France, by a repeal of her obnoxious decrees under such a condition, has placed the question in that state which can warrant America in enforcing the Non-intercourse Act against Great Britain and not against France. In reviewing the actual state of this question, America cannot fail to observe the situation in which the commerce of neutral nations has been placed by many recent acts of the French Government; nor can America reasonably expect that the system of violence and injustice now pursued by France with unremitted activity (while it serves to illustrate the true spirit of her intentions), should not require some precautions of defence on the part of Great Britain.

"Having thus stated my view of the several considerations arising from the letter of the French Minister, and from that with which you have honoured me, it only remains to express my solicitude that you should correct any interpretation of either which you deem erroneous. If, either by the terms of the original decree, to which the French Minister's letter refers, or by any other authentic document, you can prove that the Decrees of Berlin and Milan are absolutely repealed, and that no further condition is required of Great Britain *than the repeal of her orders in council,* I shall receive such information with most sincere satisfaction;—desiring you to understand that the British Government retains an anxious solicitude to revoke the *orders in council.* as soon as the Berlin and Milan Decrees shall be effectually repealed without conditions injurious to the maritime rights and honour of the United Kingdom.—I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) WELLESLEY."

"Wm. Pinkney, Esq."

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO MR. PINKNEY.

"Foreign Office, February 11th, 1811.

"SIR,

"The letter which I had the honour to receive from you, under date the 14th of January, 1811, has been submitted to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

"In communicating to you the orders which I have received from his Royal Highness on the subject of your letter, I am commanded to abstain from any course of argument, and from any expression, which (however justified by the general tenour of your observations) might tend to interrupt the good understanding which it is the wish of his Royal Highness, on behalf of his Majesty, to maintain with the Government of the United States.

"No statement contained in your letter appears to affect the general principles which I had the honour to communicate to you in my letter of the 29th of December, 1810.

"Great Britain has always insisted upon her right of self-defence against the system of commercial warfare pursued by France, and the British orders in council were founded upon a just principle of retaliation against the French decrees. The incidental operations of the orders in council upon the commerce of the United States (although deeply to be lamented) must be ascribed exclusively to the violence and injustice of the enemy, which compelled this country to resort to adequate means of defence. It cannot now be admitted that the foundation of the original question should be changed, and that the measure of retaliation adopted against France should now be relinquished at the desire of the United States, without any reference to actual conduct of the enemy.

"The intention has been repeatedly declared of repealing the orders in council, whenever France shall actually have revoked the Decrees of Berlin and Milan, and shall have restored the trade of neutral nations to the condition in which it stood previously to the promulgation of those decrees. Even admitting that France has suspended the operation of those decrees, or has repealed them, with reference to the United States, it is evident that she has not relinquished the conditions expressly declared in the letter of the French Minister, under date the 5th of August, 1810. France therefore requires that Great Britain shall not only repeal the orders in council, but renounce those principles of blockade which were alleged in the same letter to be new,—an allegation which must be understood to refer to the introductory part of the Berlin Decree. If Great Britain shall not submit to these terms, it is plainly intimated in the same letter that France requires America to enforce them.

"To these conditions his Royal Highness on behalf of his Majesty cannot accede. No principles of blockade have been promulgated or acted upon by Great Britain previously to the Berlin Decree, which are not strictly conformable to the rights of civilized war and to approved usages and laws of nations. The blockades established by orders in council rest on separate grounds, and are justified by the principles of necessary retaliation on which they originated. The conditions exacted by France would require Great Britain to surrender to the enemy the most important maritime right and interests of the United Kingdom.

"I am commanded to inform you, that his Royal Highness cannot consent to blend the question which has arisen upon the orders in council, with any discussion of the general principles of blockade.

"This declaration does not preclude any amicable discussion upon the subject of any particular blockade, of which the circumstances may appear to the Government of the United States to be exceptionable or to require explanation. I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

"Wm. Pinkney, Esq."

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO MR. PINKNEY.

"Foreign Office, February 12th, 1811.

"The Marquess Wellesley has the honour to inform Mr. Pinkney that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent will receive the Foreign Ministers at his Levee at Carleton House on Tuesday next, the 19th inst., at two o'clock."

MR. PINKNEY TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"February 13th, 1811.

"MY LORD,

"I had the honour to receive your letter of the 11th inst., and will transmit a copy of it to my Government. I can have no inducement to trouble your

Lordship any farther upon the subject to which it relates. I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. PINKNEY."

"Marquess Wellesley."

MR. PINKNEY TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Great Cumberland Place, February 13th, 1811.

"MY LORD,

Referring to my letter of the 14th of last month, I beg to be informed by your Lordship at what time his Royal Highness the Prince Regent will do me the honour to give me the audience of leave. I have the honour to be, &c., (Signed) WM. PINKNEY."

"Marquess Wellesley, &c."

MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO MR. PINKNEY.

"Foreign Office, February 15th, 1811.

"SIR,

"Having submitted to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent your desire to have an audience of leave, with a view to your return to America, I am commanded by his Royal Highness to inform you that he will be prepared to receive you at Carleton House on Tuesday, the 19th inst.

"At the same time I am commanded to inform you that his Royal Highness, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, has been pleased to appoint Augustus Foster, Esq., (lately charged with his Majesty's affairs in Sweden,) to be his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. I have the honour to be, &c., (Signed) WELLESLEY."

"Wm. Pinkney, Esq."

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO MR. PINKNEY.

(Private.)

"Foreign Office, February 15th, 1811.

"SIR,

"In the various unofficial communications which I have had the honour to make to you, respecting the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary from the King to the United States, I have endeavoured to explain to you, in the most distinct manner, the circumstances which had delayed that appointment; and I have expressed my intention to recommend that it should be carried into effect as soon as the situation of his Majesty's Government might permit.

"The delay was occasioned, in the first instance, (as I stated to you repeatedly,) by an earnest desire of rendering the appointment satisfactory to the United States, and conducive to the effectual establishment of harmony between the two Governments. Since that period of time, the state of his Majesty's Government has rendered it impossible to make the intended appointment.

"I was therefore concerned to find by your letter of the 14th of January, that the Government of the United States should be induced to suppose that any indisposition could exist on the part of his Majesty's Government, to place the British Mission in America on the footing most acceptable to the United States, as soon as it might be practicable, consistently with the convenience of affairs in this country.

"In pursuance of the intention so often declared to you, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, to appoint Mr. Foster (lately charged with his Majesty's affairs in Sweden) to be his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States; and that the appointment will be notified in the next Gazette.

"You will, of course, exercise your own judgment, under these circumstances, respecting the propriety of requiring an audience of leave on the grounds which you have stated. I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

MR. PINKNEY TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"Great Cumberland Place, February 17th, 1811.

"MY LORD,

"Before I reply to your official communication of the 15th inst., you will perhaps allow me, in acknowledging the receipt of the unofficial paper which accompanied it, to trouble you with a few words.

"From the appointment which you have done me the honour to announce to me of a Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, as well as from the language of your private letter, I conclude that it is the intention of the British Government to seek immediately those adjustments with America, without which that appointment can produce no beneficial effect. I presume that for the restoration of harmony between the two countries, the orders in council will be relinquished without delay; that the blockades of May 1806 will be annulled; and that the case of the Chesapeake will be arranged in the manner heretofore intended; and in general, that all such just and reasonable acts will be done as are necessary to make us friends.

"My motives will not, I am sure, be misinterpreted, if, anxious to be enabled so to regulate my conduct in the execution of my instructions, as that the best results may be accomplished, I take the liberty to request such explanations on these heads as your Lordship may think fit to give me. I ought to add, that as the levee of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been postponed until Tuesday, the 26th inst., I have supposed that my audience of leave is postponed to that day; and that I have, on that ground, undertaken to delay my reply to your official communication until I receive an answer to this letter. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) WM. PINKNEY."

"The Marquess Wellesley, &c."

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO MR. PINKNEY.

(Private.)

"Apsley House, February 23rd, 1811.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your private letter under date the 17th instant.

"I take the liberty of referring you to my former unofficial letters and communications for an explanation of the motives which have induced this Government, in pursuance of those amicable views which I have uniformly declared, to appoint a Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States.

"I have already assured you that the delay of that appointment was occasioned in the first instance by an anxious desire to make it in a manner which was likely to prove most acceptable to the United States. The appointment was recently delayed by the state of his Majesty's Government, and it has ultimately taken place in pursuance of the principles which I have repeatedly stated to you, and not in consequence of any change of system.

"It is, perhaps, unnecessary to repeat the desire of this Government to relinquish the orders in council whenever that measure can be adopted without surrendering the most important and valuable maritime rights and interests of the United Kingdom.

"No objection has ever been stated on the part of this Government to an amicable discussion of the principles of any blockade which may be deemed exceptionable by the United States.

"I have expressed to you, without reserve, a desire to arrange the case of the Chesapeake on just and equitable principles; and I trust that no apprehension can be entertained of the general disposition of this Government to adopt every reasonable measure which may be necessary to conciliate the friendship of the United States. But it would be neither candid towards you, nor just towards this Government, to countenance any interpretation which might favour a supposition that it was intended by this Government to relinquish any of the principles which I have so often endeavoured to explain to you.

"His Royal Highness's Levee will take place on Tuesday, the 26th instant; but I have received his commands to signify to such of the Foreign Ministers as may desire to have private audiences, that his Royal Highness will receive them on Thursday, the 28th instant. The Foreign Ministers, however, will all be presented to his Royal Highness on Tuesday, the 26th instant, on which day I shall attend for that purpose. I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

"Wm. Pinkney, Esq."

After so lengthened a discussion on American affairs, it is now time that we should revert to the progress of war in the Peninsula, and bring before the reader the important proceedings respecting the Regency in this country.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Princess Amelia's Death-bed.—The King visited with a Return of his Malady.—Meeting of the Two Houses.—Successive Adjournments.—Anomalous Position of Affairs.—The Nation governed without a King or Regent.—Report on the King's Health.—Anecdote respecting the State of the King, when seen by Marquess Wellesley.—Debates in both Houses.—Violent Speech of the Duke of Sussex.—The Whigs join the Prince of Wales, and oppose proceeding by Bill.—Opposition to any Restrictions on the Regent.—Firmness of the Ministers.—The Democratic and Constitutional Doctrine, that the Parliament has in such cases, the power of Election, recognised by both Houses.—Prince of Wales created Regent by Bill, with Limitations.—Correspondence of his Royal Highness with Mr. Perceval.—His Letter to the Duke of York respecting Lords Grey and Grenville.—List of Ministers, 1812.—Lords Grey and Grenville decline the Regent's Overtures.

THE circumstances attending the return to King George the Third of the lamentable malady which, in 1788, had rendered the appointment of a Regency necessary, form a pathetic story. Toward the latter end of the month of October, 1810, the Princess Amelia died after a painful and protracted illness, which she bore with meek resignation. When she knew that her end was approaching, she ordered a ring to be made, enclosing a lock of her hair with her name on the inside, and the words "Remember me;" and when the King, her father, making his daily visit to her bed-side, held out his hand to her, the dying Princess put the ring on his hand silently. Her own departure was so near, that she never knew the fatal consequences which ensued. The King had, during the long sufferings of the Princess Amelia, watched the progress of the disease with most eager anxiety; and when he felt this last mark of his daughter's love, knowing all that it imported, he became so strongly agitated that his intellects were affected and a recurrence of his former malady was brought on.

Parliament had been convoked for the 1st of November, according to form; but, as it was not intended that the Houses should actually meet, the words *for the dispatch of business* were not inserted in the proclamation. An order of council had been published, directing that it should be prorogued to the 29th, and authorizing the Chancellor to issue a commission under the great seal for the prorogation; but the King was not in a state to sign the commission, and both Houses therefore met under these singular circumstances, not being summoned for the dispatch of business, and consequently being left to form a course of proceeding for themselves. The physicians at this time confidently expected that his Majesty would speedily recover; and Ministers having stated this, moved an adjournment for a fortnight, which was agreed to without a dissentient voice.

At the expiration of a fortnight the King remained in the same state, and the physicians continued in the same opinion; one of them, who had attended upon him on a former occasion, declaring that he perceived the leading symptoms which, on that occasion, convinced him that the patient was recovering. A second adjournment for a fortnight was moved. After a few remarks from Lords Grenville, Stanhope, and Grey, the question was again carried unanimously in the Lords. In the Commons, Mr. Whitbread complained, that "they were called upon not to provide against the serious deficiency in the executive Government, but to continue the suspension of the constitution for another fortnight: and upon what ground? what authentic testimony? what recorded evidence? Upon nothing but the bare statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the mere assertion of a member of Parliament. Yet upon this ground, the mere vague assertion of an individual, they were proceeding to adjourn for a fortnight, to do without the kingly office for that period, and all this with their eyes open to the alarming state of things, and to their probable consequences."

"The present motion," Sir Francis Burdett said, "was one of the most irrational and unconstitutional propositions ever made in that House. Had he been present on the last day of meeting, he would have opposed every motion for adjournment. The constitution was suspended, and he would not have agreed to a moment's delay, till that constitution was restored. What principle was this mode of proceeding calculated to establish? Could the public business go on without the executive Government? If it could not, why at such a period was it to be deferred? and if it could, were Ministers anxious to convince the people that the executive branch of the constitution was a mere nothing? Was there any proceeding more likely to bring that part of the constitution into contempt? Was it not holding it forth to the country as a mere farce? Were the people to be told that in the votes of both Houses only consisted the constitution; that the crown might be placed on a cushion, whilst all its powers and prerogatives were to be left to the discretion of Ministers?"

Alluding to the proceedings upon the regency in 1788, Sir Francis continued: "The Act," he said, "which was then passed by a powerful faction against his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, never should have had his sanction; an Act that put him into leading-strings, that threw him back into the stage of infancy, and made him a sort of constructive lunatic, enacting him to be incapable of acting or of judging without the cöoperation and control of the legislature; as it were stultifying him this moment, when the next, by the laws of the land, might have raised him to the crown of these kingdoms, and lifted him out of a cradle to have placed him on a throne." After an animated debate in which Mr. Tierney, Lord A. Hamilton, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Sheridan, &c., addressed the House, the adjournment was carried by three hundred and forty-three voices to fifty-eight.

After this second fortnight had elapsed, a report of the Privy Council was laid before Parliament on the 29th of November, containing the examination of the King's physicians; all of whom declared it highly probable that his Majesty would recover. The Earl of Liverpool then moved for the delay of another fortnight. Earl Spencer, in opposition to this, moved that a select committee should be appointed to examine the physicians: he was strongly supported in this.—Lord Holland requested Ministers not to regard him in the light of their opponent, when he cautioned them to pause on the verge of their strange and unaccountable proceedings. A bill of indemnity might screen them from the personal consequences of their rashness, but nothing could rescue the country from the hazard of those perils which were collecting and darkening round her. Lord Grenville declared the proposal for farther adjournment to be most derogatory to the dignity of Parliament, most hostile to the best interests of the monarchy, and most repugnant to every principle of the constitution. He contended that they were not yet in possession of any fact which they could constitutionally recognize: for as to the report of the Privy Council, how had that Privy Council been convened?—without the sanction, the consent, the knowledge, the summons of the King. If such doctrines were to be tolerated, the House would afford its sanction to principles most hostile to those upon which the monarchy stands,—and which, though not republican, would lead at once to the establishment of the most odious and detestable form of aristocracy. Eventually the House divided: when fifty-six peers supported the amendment, eighty-eight with the Ministry. The Dukes of York and Cambridge voted with the Ministry: the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex with the opposition.

The debate in the House of Commons was conducted with great asperity. The Whigs, who were then under the delusion that the Prince of Wales was a friend of liberal principles, and would remain steady to his early attachments, strongly opposed any further adjournment. On a division, however, there were in favour of the course recommended by Ministers two hundred and thirty; against it, one hundred and thirty-seven.

The position of affairs at this time was embarrassing in the highest degree. While Buonaparte had consummated a union with the House of Austria, and had four queens bearing the train of his newly espoused Empress, this country was sustaining an arduous and unequal contest in the Peninsula!—was on the verge of war with America!—with an unsatisfactory state of things in India!—colonial difficulties of great magnitude!—and domestic embarrassments arising from the sufferings of the poor in Great Britain, and the oppression of the mass of the Irish population! And yet the Government of the country was carried on without a king—the sovereign power being actually held by the Cabinet Ministers, who could no longer, with propriety, be termed the servants of the Crown! All the difficulties experienced in 1788 were revived in their full force, and it was generally felt that another such anomalous crisis would shake the pillars of the English monarchy.

The Marquess Wellesley, as a member of the Privy Council, visited the King during the calamitous affliction under which he suffered, to ascertain and report upon the state of his Majesty's health. When his Lordship entered the apartment in which the Royal sufferer was confined, he found the man whom he had been accustomed to see surrounded with the insignia of power, and all the heraldic pomp of state-ceremonial, sitting in a condition of complete nakedness on his bed, sunk apparently in hopeless oblivion. Lord Wellesley was so deeply affected, that he could not refrain from tears, and in after life never adverted to the subject without emotion.

How truly has our great poet, who knew the human heart so deeply, and was so thoroughly conversant with human life in all its forms, observed!—

> O be sick, Greatness,
> And bid thy Ceremony give thee cure!
> Think'st thou the fiery fever will go out
> With titles blown from adulation?
> Will it give place to flexure and low bending?
> Canst thou, when thou command'st the beggar's knee,
> Command the health of it? No, thou proud dream,
> That play'st so subtly with a King's repose;
> I am a King that find thee; and I know
> 'Tis not the balm, the sceptre, and the ball,
> The sword, the mace, the crown imperial,
> The enter-tissued robe of gold and pearl,
> The farced title running 'fore the King,
> The throne he sits on, nor the tide of pomp
> That beats upon the high shore of this world,
> No; not all these, thrice gorgeous ceremonies:
> Not all these, laid in bed majestical,
> Can sleep so soundly as the wretched slave,
> Who with a body fill'd, and vacant mind,
> Gets him to rest, cramm'd with distressful bread.

At the end of the third adjournment on the 13th of December, Ministers informed Parliament, that though a considerable degree of progressive amendment had taken place, and the same confident expectations of his Majesty's ultimate recovery were still entertained, yet the immediate state of his health was not such as could warrant them to propose a farther adjournment. Committees, therefore, were appointed in both Houses to examine the physicians. These examinations tended to the same conclusion as the examination before the Privy Council: the physicians all concurred in expressing confident hopes of the King's recovery. The report having been laid before the House of Commons, December the 17th, Mr. Perceval moved that, "on the following Thursday the House should resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration the state of the nation; his intention," he said, "was then to submit to the committee, three preliminary resolutions, similar to those which were adopted in 1788: the first, relating to his Majesty's incompetence to discharge the royal functions; the second, declaring the obligations imposed on the two Houses of Parliament to supply the deficiency in the executive authority; and the third, regarding the manner in which the substitute for the royal authority was to be provided, by way of Bill. On these points it was indispensably necessary that each House should know the opinion of the other, before either could submit the precise method which might be deemed most expedient to meet the exigency of the occasion."

The Earl of Liverpool gave a similar intimation in the House of Lords.

On the 20th of December, the day appointed, the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee, and Mr. Perceval submitted to its consideration three resolutions: the first stated, that his Majesty being prevented by his indisposition from attending to the public business, *the personal exercise of the royal authority was thereby suspended:* the second, *that it was the right and duty of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of the United Kingdom now assembled, and lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect in the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his Majesty's said indisposition, in such manner as the exigency of the case might appear to them to require:* the third, that for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the King, it was necessary that the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of the United Kingdom, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent might be given in Parliament to such bill as might be passed by the two Houses of Parliament, respecting the exercise of the power and authorities of the Crown, in the name and in the behalf of the King, during the continuance of his Majesty's present indisposition. Mr. Perceval then stated what were the ulterior propositions which he meant to bring forward: they were, that the Prince of Wales should be appointed regent, to administer the affairs of the country, in the name and in the behalf of his Majesty, during the continuance of the King's indisposition. That the entire care of the King's person should be intrusted to the Queen: and that due provisions and precautions should be introduced into the bill for notifying the King's recovery, whenever that event should take place, and for defining the course which would effectually enable his Majesty to resume his royal functions with his former dignity and authority. The operation of these three provisions were to have no limit assigned in point of time, except the duration of the King's disorder. The bill which he meant to propose would contain certain provisions, limiting and restricting for a time, the use of some of the powers and prerogatives of the Crown.

After a debate of the most animated character, full of historical and constitutional interest, in which Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Canning, Sir Samuel Romilly, and Mr. Perceval, were the most conspicuous speakers, the resolution proposed by Ministers, was carried by a majority of one hundred and twelve.

The discussion in the House of Lords was marked by a great deal of acrimony and warm feeling. The brunt of the debate on the ministerial side fell upon the Earl of Liverpool and Lord Eldon. The Marquess Wellesley* fully concurred in the proceedings of his colleagues, and voted in favour of the resolutions of the Cabinet; but his Lordship did not address the House on the question. After stating the nature of the resolutions, the Earl of Liverpool declared his opinion that the mode of proceeding by Bill was the only lawful means of creating a regency; the authority of the regent, in his opinion, could not be established by a mere address. Lord Holland moved an amendment to the third resolution, and it being seconded by the Duke of Norfolk, his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex addressed the House with much vehemence: "My Lords," said he, "I rise not merely to approve of the amendment, but likewise to caution your Lordships to listen with suspicion to any suggestion coming from that side of the House, upon a matter of so high importance as to be equalled only by the magnitude of the calamity which gives rise to this momentous discussion. Upwards of eight weeks have now elapsed, during which immense period, either the magistracy of royalty has been suspended, or the functions of that authority have been assumed by a committee of persons who have no right to exercise them. I have watched with a jealous and anxious eye, as far as I have been able, the whole proceedings of these *late* Ministers of his Majesty;* resolved, when an opportunity occurred, to state my most marked disapprobation of their conduct. You have now, my Lords, upon the minutes of the Secret Committee many deplorable and most melancholy facts, which affection for my father, and delicacy, have hitherto prevented my expatiating upon. The fact is unfortunately now but too clearly established of the malady of our most gracious Sovereign. You have likewise the evidence of the physicians as to the positive certainty of no personal communication between the Sovereign and his Ministers during that period. You also possess the knowledge, that every individual of the royal family has been kept from the presence of the King. Can you then for a moment conceive, either that his Majesty has a free will of his own, or any will at all? Can you allow yourselves to be told that you may remain perfectly easy on the state of affairs, as his Majesty's late Ministers have executed every measure of expediency which the pressure of the times required, and which they would have advised could they have been admitted to the Sovereign? Is this a justification of their conduct? How can your Lordships know whether his Majesty would have approved of the advice of these Ministers, or not? If I understand anything of the constitution of my country, the Ministers of the Sovereign are a set of men whom the King calls to his councils, and therefore are they styled his confidential servants. They are to take the pleasure of their Sovereign, to advise him upon all matters wherein the welfare and interests of his people are concerned, to the best of their knowledge and judgment, for which they are responsible to Parliament. In consequence of their representations, his Majesty commands them how to act; and for the execution of these royal commands, they are equally amenable to the grand tribunal of the empire. Now then, dare those Ministers assert that they have acted as they would have advised their royal master, whom they have not seen for these last eight weeks, with whom they have had no personal communication, who has no free will of his own, and who is separated from all the tenderest ties of nature? My Lords, if these late courageous Ministers have acted, they have usurped a power which they have no right to exercise. If they have been frightened—if they have hesitated—if they have stumbled, and not acted,—why then, my Lords, they are equally treasonable for allowing the magistracy of royalty to be suspended for such a length of time, which is a situation the constitution can never know, and, of course, can never acknowledge! It is a shock the most dreadful, the most deadly, the constitution has ever received since the period of the Revolution!

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* The following interesting letter appears in the Life of Lord Eldon, by Horace Twiss, Esq. :—

QUEEN CHARLOTTE TO LORD ELDON.

"Windsor, Nov. 3, 1810.

"The Queen feels, more than she has words to express, the attention shown her by the Lord Chancellor and his colleagues, in making an excuse for not calling upon her yesterday. She is perfectly sensible that the subject it related to would have been equally painful to both parties, and is highly sensible of the delicacy of the conduct of the Lord Chancellor, Marquess Wellesley, and Mr. Ryder, to whom she begs her compliments.

"Our domestic misfortunes are truly severe, but I trust Providence will carry us through. CHARLOTTE."

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* His Royal Highness here suggests, that the Ministers were no longer possessed of lawful powers; so that the country was not only (according to his Royal Highness) without a king, but an authorised executive government of any kind!

"My Lords, the sovereign is a sole corporation; he never dies; he enjoys a political immortality. In attempting, therefore, the destruction of this grand constitutional principle, these late Ministers of his Majesty have committed a regicide act against the magistracy of royalty. I cannot separate for a moment the welfare of the Constitution from the welfare of the King. They are so closely united, and so intimately connected, that whatever concerns the one affects the other. I presume, therefore, by the measures his Majesty's late Ministers have been pursuing, the constitution is in danger; my father and Sovereign must stand in the same perilous situation. It is by maintaining such doctrines, that I am fighting for the preservation of the monarchical constitution, and watching the interests of the Crown with warmer zeal, truer disinterestedness, and greater activity, than ever the King's confidential servant can claim or pretend to. By the conduct these Ministers have all along observed, they seem to me to have made a shield of the Sovereign, instead of being the constitutional shield of their royal master. They seem to me as if they were endeavouring to take advantage of the conjuncture to depress the Crown, to render it as much precarious and elective as they can, and to raise the power of themselves upon the ruins of monarchy! If the estates proceed by bill they assume to legislate without the intervention of the royal authority, which is a violation of the constitution. Besides, if they do proceed by a pretended act of the legislature, they claim to elect the person who, for a time, shall exercise the magistracy of royalty; and if it is admitted, that the two Houses may thus elect the person who shall for a time exercise the magistracy of royalty, it will be difficult to resist that claim afterwards, at a future period, to elect a person who shall permanently exercise that royal authority. My Lords, I hear of restrictions on the regency. I say, my Lords, these restrictions cannot, must not be! If you feel the necessity of a regent, he must have full powers, and not be the very mummery or mockery of royalty, which is the system Ministers are anxious to adopt. He must be an efficient magistrate, with those prerogatives which the common law of England assigns to a king, and which the people of the United Kingdom have a right to demand. From a variety of causes, my Lords, I, upwards of eighteen years, happened to be abroad during the progress of an awful and calamitous revolution on the Continent. Wherever I flew from this Hydra, it followed me. I watched as much as I could the rapid strides it was making over the whole of Europe; and my observations have invariably been, that the constant and successful forerunner of the downfall of every government was, either the bringing the magistracy of royalty into suspense or disrepute, or the inflaming, injuring, and prejudicing the minds of the people against their sovereign and his heirs. God forbid, my Lords, that I should ever foretel such a calamity to my country! but, my Lords, I hold it as a most sacred duty to warn you of the dangers which surround you at this moment. We have an excellent constitution, erected on the basis of a glorious revolution, formed by experience, and beautified by time and cool reflection. So masterly are the three component parts equipoised, that whatever should be an encroachment on one of the three branches, would carry with it the downfall of the two others; and thus the entire destruction of this wonderful fabric, the sublimest proof of the mercy of Providence, and the noblest specimen of the wisdom of man, would inevitably ensue. Feeling as I do at this moment, my Lords, I cannot conclude otherwise than by imploring your Lordships to pay your most serious attention to a subject in which the vital parts of our constitution are concerned; and in quoting the words of a late and learned Lord, who filled the woolsack at the former and similar momentous period of 1788—'May God forget me, if I forget my king!'

—And to which pious and fervent ejaculation I must farther add, with equal devotion—May God forget me, if I forget the constitution of this country!—that constitution which placed my family on the throne of these realms; that constitution which has been long our pride and the envy of all surrounding nations, and for the want of which blessing they have all been confounded into one horrible mass of anarchy, ruin, and despair, while we stand secure from revolutions, firm as a rock, as a great beacon of civil, constitutional, and religious liberty, in the midst of a subjugated and desolated world; that constitution for which my family have pledged themselves to live and die!"

The Duke of York spoke to the same purport. "I should readily have voted," he said, "for a farther adjournment, if it had been proposed by those who have been in the enjoyment of his Majesty's confidence, and to whom I give credit for a disposition not to run too great a risk of incurring any serious embarrassment to the state, by postponing to too late a period the consideration of measures which must under the continuance of these melancholy circumstances, ultimately become necessary. But I object to the mode which they now propose, and the principle upon which it is proposed. I deny the authority — the validity of the principle by which two estates of the realm can substitute a phantom for the prescribed reality, and assume to themselves a power of establishing an act, for which, by the principles and acknowledged forms of the constitution, the sanction of the third, still existing, although actually dormant, is particularly required. I therefore adhere to the mode of address, which is not liable to the same objections; and for the proposed restrictions, I consider them as not less dangerous in principle than in precedent. These are not times when the executive power, already subject to difficulties from its temporary nature, (and temporary, I trust in God, it will prove,) should be still farther embarrassed and weakened by restrictions, which are not less unbecoming than they would prove unnecessary."

The House of Lords, notwithstanding, adopted the democratic course recommended by the Cabinet, by a majority of one hundred to seventy-four. All the royal dukes were in the minority.

After a great deal of exciting controversy the Prince of Wales was constituted Regent, subject to limitations similar to those imposed upon his Royal Highness in 1788. A few days after the resolutions of the two Houses were communicated to the Regent, his Royal Highness addressed the following note to the head of the administration:—

"Carlton House, Feb. 4, 1811.

"The Prince of Wales considers the moment to arrive which calls for his decision with respect to the persons to be employed by him, in the administration of the executive government of the country, according to the powers vested in him by the bill passed by the two Houses of Parliament, and now on the point of receiving the sanction of the great seal.

"The Prince feels it incumbent upon him, at this precise juncture, to communicate to Mr. Perceval his intention not to remove from their stations those whom he finds there as his Majesty's official servants. At the same time the Prince owes it to the truth and sincerity of character which, he trusts, will appear in every action of his life, in whatever situation placed, explicitly to declare, that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted Father leads him to dread that any act of the Regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his Sovereign's recovery

"This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval.

"Having thus performed an act of indispensable duty, from a just sense of what is due to his own consistency and honour, the Prince has only to add, that among the many blessings to be derived from his Majesty's restoration to health, and to the personal exercise of his royal functions, it will not, in the Prince's estimation, be the least, that that most fortunate event will at once rescue him from a situation of unexampled embarrassment, and put an end to a state of affairs, ill-calculated, he fears, to sustain the interests of the United Kingdom in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be reconciled to the genuine principles of the British constitution."

MR. PERCEVAL'S REPLY.

"Downing Street, 31st March, 1812.

"Mr. Perceval presents his humble duty to your Royal Highness and has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Royal Highness's letter of last night, which reached him this morning.

"Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to express his humble thanks to your Royal Highness, for the frankness with which your Royal Highness has condescended explicitly to communicate the motives which have induced your Royal Highness to honour his colleagues and him with your commands for the continuance of their services in the stations intrusted to them by the King. And Mr. Perceval begs leave to assure your Royal Highness that in the expression of your Royal Highness's sentiments of filial and loyal attachment to the King, and of anxiety for the restoration of his Majesty's health, Mr. Perceval can see nothing but additional motives for their most anxious exertions to give satisfaction to your Royal Highness, in the only manner in which it can be given, by endeavouring to promote your Royal Highness's views for the security and happiness of the country.

"Mr. Perceval has never failed to regret the impression of your Royal Highness, with regard to the provisions of the Regency Bill, which his Majesty's servants felt it to be their duty to recommend to Parliament. But he ventures to submit to your Royal Highness, that, whatever difficulties the present awful crisis of the country and the world may create in the administration of the executive government, your Royal Highness will not find them in any degree increased by the temporary suspension of the exercise of those branches of the royal prerogative which has been introduced by Parliament, in conformity to what was intended on a former similar occasion; and that whatever ministers your Royal Highness might think proper to employ, would find in that full support and countenance which, as long as they were honoured with your Royal Highness's commands, they would feel confident they would continue to enjoy, ample and sufficient means to enable your Royal Highness effectually to maintain the great and important interests of the United Kingdom.

"And Mr. Perceval humbly trusts, that whatever doubts your Royal Highness may entertain with respect to the constitutional propriety of the measures which have been adopted, your Royal Highness will feel assured that they could not have been recommended by his Majesty's servants, nor sanctioned by Parliament, but upon the sincere, though possibly erroneous, conviction, that they in no degree trenched upon the true principles and spirit of the constitution.

"Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to add, that he holds himself in readiness, at any moment, to wait upon your Royal Highness, and to receive any commands with which your Royal Highness may be graciously pleased to honour him."

No change occurred in the situation of Ministers during the year 1811. Early in the new year his Royal Highness the Prince Regent addressed the following letter to the Duke of York.

"Carlton House, Feb. 13, 1812.

"MY DEAREST BROTHER,

"As the restrictions on the exercise of the royal authority will shortly expire, when I must make my arrangements for the future administration of the powers with which I am invested, I think it right to communicate to you those sentiments which I was withheld from expressing at an earlier period of the session by my earnest desire that the expected motion on the affairs of Ireland might undergo the deliberate discussion of Parliament, unmixed with any other consideration.

"I think it hardly necessary to call your recollection to the recent circumstances under which I assumed the authority delegated to me by Parliament. At a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger, I was called upon to make a selection of persons to whom I should entrust the functions of the executive government. My sense of duty to our Royal father solely decided that choice, and every private feeling gave way to considerations which admitted of no doubt or hesitation. I trust I acted in that respect as the genuine representative of the august person whose functions I was appointed to discharge; and I have the satisfaction of knowing that such was the opinion of persons for whose judgment and honourable principles I entertain the highest respect. In various instances, as you well know, where the law of the last session left me at full liberty, I waived any personal gratification, in order that his Majesty might resume, on his restoration to health, every power and prerogative belonging to his Crown. I certainly am the last person in the kingdom to whom it can be permitted to despair of our Royal father's recovery.

A new era is now arrived, and I cannot but reflect with satisfaction on the events which have distinguished the short period of my restricted regency. Instead of suffering the loss of any possessions, by the gigantic force which has been employed against them, Great Britain has added most important acquisitions to her empire. The national faith has been preserved inviolate towards our allies; and if character is strength, as applied to a nation, the increased and increasing reputation of his Majesty's arms will show to the nations of the Continent how much they may still achieve when animated by a glorious spirit of resistance to a foreign yoke. In the critical situation of the war in the Peninsula, I shall be most anxious to avoid any measure which can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system. Perseverance alone can achieve the great object in question; and I cannot withhold my approbation from those who have honourably distinguished themselves in the support of it. I have no predilections to indulge—no resentments to gratify—no objects to attain, but such as are common to the whole empire. If such is the leading principle of my conduct—and I can appeal to the past in evidence of what the future will be—I flatter myself

I shall meet with the support of Parliament and of a candid and enlightened nation.

"Having made this communication of my sentiments in this new and extraordinary crisis of our affairs, I cannot conclude without expressing the gratification I should feel, if some of those persons with whom the early habits of my public life were formed, would strengthen my hands, and constitute a part of my Government. With such support, and aided by a vigorous and united Administration, formed on the most liberal basis, I shall look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain was ever engaged. You are authorised to communicate these sentiments to Lord Grey, who, I have no doubt, will make them known to Lord Grenville.* I am always, dearest Frederick, your affectionate brother,

(Signed) "GEORGE P. R."

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* LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS,

January 1812.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl Camden . . .	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon . . .	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland .	Lord Privy Seal.
Right Hon. Spencer Perceval	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister), Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, also Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Right Hon. Charles Yorke .	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Mulgrave . . .	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Right Hon. Richard Ryder	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Marquess Wellesley . .	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Lords Grey and Grenville respectfully but firmly declined the Regent's overtures. "We must," they remark in their reply to the Duke of York, "express without reserve the impossibility of our uniting with the present Government. Our differences of opinion are too many and too important to admit of such an union."

Earl of Liverpool	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Viscount Melville	President of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. George Rose	Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Viscount Palmerston	Secretary at War.
Lord Charles Somerset Right Hon. Charles Long	Joint Paymasters-General of the Forces.
Earl of Chichester Earl of Sandwich	Joint Postmasters-General.
Richard Wharton, Esq. Charles Arbuthnot, Esq.	Secretaries to the Treasury.
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Vicary Gibbs	Attorney-General.
Sir Thomas Plumer	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	Lord-Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. Wm. Wellesley Pole	Chief Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

CHAPTER IX.

Adverse Circumstances of Wellington in the Peninsula. — Difficulties which he had to bear up against.— Exertions of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to sustain the Army in Portugal.—Marquess Wellesley convinced that the Prosecution of the War was the only means of checking Buonaparte.—Exertion of his Personal Influence.—Popular Clamour against the Employment of the Army in Portugal and Spain. —Common Council of the City of London pray the King to Institute an Inquiry into Wellington's Failure.—Despondency of the Country. —Union of Buonaparte with the House of Austria.—Energetic Appeal of the Marquess Wellesley to Parliament in behalf of Spain.—Lord Liverpool asks the General "Would it be desirable to withdraw from the Contest?"—Wellington's Answer, "The War would be transferred to our own Shores."—Change in Public Feeling on the Destruction of Massena's Army, and the Expulsion of the French from Portugal.—Enthusiasm of the Nation, and Exultation at the Exploits of the Army under Wellington.—Consultations of Marquess Wellesley with Mr. Wilberforce on the subject of the Spanish Slave-trade.

After the retreat from Talavera, in the year 1809, and all through the eventful year of 1810, the British army had to endure hardships and privations of no ordinary character,—and what was in the estimation of soldiers far worse, they had to bear up against the taunts and misrepresentations of the timid, the discontented, and the malevolent, who interpreted the magnanimous caution of their General into cowardice; they had, at the same time, to contend against the clamour of those who, unable to comprehend the masterly plans of Wellington, demanded the recall of the troops from Spain and Portugal. A soldier of less fortitude, powers of endurance, and cool, intelligent self-reliance, would have given way under such adverse circumstances. An overwhelming force was arrayed against him, his allies were crushed, the Governments of Spain and Portugal were capable of affording neither adequate supplies nor efficient coöperation, and the means at his own disposal were limited.

But if the British General had difficulty in maintaining his ground in the Peninsula, the difficulties of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who exerted himself to sustain him there, were not less formidable. The cost of the small army which Lord Wellington commanded in Portugal amounted to 230,000*l.* a month; and in the opinion of those who measured the policy and strategy of the Wellesleys by the standard of their predecessors, this expenditure was hopelessly squandered on an impracticable object! The Marquess Wellesley was, however, thoroughly convinced that the steady prosecution of the war in the Peninsula would eventually bring down Buonaparte,—"he" (to quote the words of Grattan) "who said, 'I will be like the Most High'—he who smote the nations with a continual stroke—this short-lived son of morning, Lucifer." His Lordship palced such unwavering confidence in the military talents of the hero whose fame he had cradled, and whose prowess he had seen at Assaye, and the fields of Mysore and the Deccan, that he never for a moment faltered. It is morally certain, that had not Wellington, in the year 1810, been sustained by the personal influence and prestige of the ex-Governor-General of India, who had so effectually eradicated the French from Hindostan, and crushed some of the most dangerous enemies of the English name in the East, he would have been compelled to quit the country, which afterwards witnessed so many of his triumphs, and resounded so loudly with his praises!

The Common Council of the City of London not only petitioned Parliament against granting a pension to Lord Wellington for his conduct in the battle of Talavera, but prayed the King for 'an inquiry into the circumstances connected with the failure of the late expedition into the interior of Spain.' The sentiments of the citizens of London will afford a faithful index to the prevalent feeling of this kingdom in 1810:— "After a useless display of British valour, and a frightful carnage, that army, like the preceding one, was compelled to seek its safety in a precipitate flight, before an enemy whom we were told had been conquered—abandoning many thousands of our wounded countrymen into the hands of the French. That calamity, like the others, had passed without any inquiry, and, as if their long-experienced impunity had put the servants of the Crown above the reach of justice, Ministers have actually gone the length of advising your Majesty to confer honourable distinctions on a General *who has thus exhibited, with equal rashness and ostentation, nothing but a useless valour.*" In both Houses of Parliament the policy of maintaining an army in the Peninsula was frequently and vehemently assailed; and upon several occasions the Marquess Wellesley warmly vindicated his brother and the operations which the General was conducting in Portugal. In a debate in the House of Lords, June 1810, his Lordship made the following appeal to the feelings of the House in favour of Spain:—

"The struggle in which Spain is now engaged is not merely a Spanish struggle: no my Lords; in that struggle are committed the best, the very vital interests of England. With the fate of Spain, the fate of England is now inseparably blended. Should we not therefore stand by her to the last? For my part, my Lords, as an adviser to the Crown, I shall not cease to recommend to my Sovereign to continue to assist Spain to the latest moment of her existence. It should not dishearten us that Spain appears to be in the very crisis of her fate; we should, on the contrary, extend a more anxious care over her at a moment so critical. For in nations, and above all in Spain, how often have the apparent symptoms of dissolution been the presages of new life, and of renovated vigour? Therefore I would cling to Spain in her last struggle; therefore I would watch her last agonies, I would wash and heal her wounds, I would receive her parting breath, I would catch and cherish the last vital spark of her expiring patriotism. Nor let this be deemed a mere office of pious charity, nor an exaggerated representation of my feelings, nor an over-charged picture of the circumstances that call them forth. In the cause of Spain, the cause of honour and of interest is equally involved and inseparably allied; it is a cause in favour of which the finest feelings of the heart unite with the soundest dictates of the understanding."

"The state of opinion," writes Lord Wellington, in one of his dispatches, dated 21st April, 1810, "is very unfavourable to the Peninsula. The Ministers are as much alarmed as the public, or as the Opposition pretend to be; and they appear to be of opinion that I am inclined to fight a desperate battle, which is to answer no purpose. Their instructions are clear enough, and I am willing to act under them, though they throw upon me the whole responsibility of bringing away the army in safety, after staying in the Peninsula till it shall be necessary to evacuate it." Indeed, the Earl of Liverpool went so far as to propose to the General, whether or not it were prudent for him to return home. The following was Lord Wellington's remarkable reply:—

"From what I have seen of the objects of the French Government, and the sacrifices they make to accomplish them, I have no doubt that if the British army were, for any reason, withdrawn from the Peninsula, and the French Government were relieved from the pressure of military operations on the Continent, they would incur all risks to land an army in his Majesty's dominions: then, indeed, would commence an expensive contest; then would his Majesty's subjects discover what are the miseries of war,—of which, by the blessing of God, they have hitherto had no knowledge; and the cultivation, the beauty, and prosperity of the country, and the virtue and happiness of its inhabitants, would be destroyed, whatever might be the result of military operations. God forbid that I should be a witness, much less an actor, in the scene! and I only hope that the King's Government will consider well what I have above stated to your Lordship,—will ascertain, as it is in their power, the actual expenses of employing a certain number of men in this country, beyond that of employing them at home or elsewhere, and will keep up their force here on such a footing as will, at all events, secure their possession, without keeping the transports, if it does not enable their commander to take advantage of events, and assume the offensive."

But a change came o'er the spirit of England, when Massena's host of 80,000 men was seen melting away like snow before the British lines at Torres Vedras! When the nation saw Wellington, at the head of his gallant little band of 30,000 men, descending from the heights, and driving the French at the point of the bayonet out of Portugal, their rapture and exultation was only equalled by their regret at the injustice of their previous conduct to their gallant brethren in the Peninsula, whose courage and skill they had so underrated!* "Busaco," "Ciudad

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* In the *Waltz*, written by Lord Byron in 1812, the following lines occur:—

"Hail, spirit-stirring Waltz! beneath whose banners
A modern hero fought for modish manners
On Hounslow's Heath, to rival Wellesley's fame;
Cock'd—fired—and miss'd his man—but gain'd his aim."

The noble poet adds in a note, "To rival Lord Wellesley's or his nephew's, as the reader pleases: the one gained a pretty woman, whom he deserved by fighting for; and the other has been fighting in the Peninsula many a long day 'by Shrewsbury clock' without gaining anything in *that* country but the title of 'the great lord' and 'the lord' &c." I have not been able to find any record of a duel in which the Marquess Wellesley was concerned; though his Lordship, in his early youth, was on the verge of one. Byron evidently wrote in haste, and probably intended to refer to the celebrated duel on the 30th of May, 1809, between Lord Paget and Captain Cadogan respecting Lady Charlotte

Rodrigo," "Badajos," and "Salamanca," became names that excited enthusiasm, — watch-words that presaged victory; and St. Sebastian, Pampeluna, and the bloody field of Vittoria, successively reproached those who had foreboded nothing but defeat, disaster, and disgrace!

The following is an extract from the diary of Mr. Wilberforce, respecting the Spanish slave-trade:—

"Marquess Wellesley called and sat with me, and walked in the verandah three-quarters of an hour, talking about Abolition cause in Spain." After a visit to Lord Wellesley, Mr. Wilberforce says, "I have been to call on him, to bespeak his good offices for the cause of Abolition in Spain. The men whom he will see will probably go over to South America, and there leaven the mass." "I am very much obliged to you for your suggestions respecting the possible interpretation of the tenth article," Lord Wellesley replied to him at this time. "I shall instruct Lord Strangford to invite the Portuguese Government to a formal renunciation of any eventual rights which this article might be construed to establish to a Portuguese slave-trade on any part of the African coast which is not now in the actual possession of Portugal."

Wellesley, for whose seduction the Hon. Henry Wellesley recovered from Lord Paget twenty thousand pounds damages. The poet, it will be observed, described the hero of the Peninsula as the *nephew*, instead of the brother, of the Marquess Wellesley; and Lord Byron participated in the vulgar hostility then prevalent against the maintenance of the contest in Spain and Portugal,—against which the noble Marquess found it necessary so often to combat so energetically in the House of Peers.

CHAPTER X.

Letter of the Marquess Wellesley to A. J. Foster, Esq., British Envoy in the United States of America, Reviewing the Controversy between that Country and England, arising out of the Berlin Decrees, the British Orders in Council, and the Blockade of May, 1806.—Fresh Propositions to America, and Declaration of the Law of Nations and the Maritime Rights of this Country.—Remarks on the Facts disclosed in the Letter of the Marquess Wellesley to Mr Foster.—Effects of War upon Commerce.—Importance of Cultivating Peace.—Freedom of America from Taxes.—Taxes, Debts, and Grievous Burdens, the inevitable Result of War.—Importance of preserving Peace between England and America.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO MR. FOSTER.

"Foreign Office, April 10th, 1811.

"Sir,

"The correspondence and documents to which you have had access, respecting the several orders passed in Council for the regulation of commerce, in consequence of the hostile decrees of France, will have apprised you of the general nature of that system of defence to which his Majesty was compelled to resort for the purpose of protecting the maritime rights and interests of his dominions against the new description of warfare adopted by the enemy.

"But as the question now at issue between Great Britain, France, and America on this important point will require you to enter into the fullest explanations with the Government of the United States, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, has commanded me to direct your attention in a more particular manner to the principles on which the orders in council were originally founded; to the actual state of the question now depending between this Government and the United States, with relation to the repeal of the orders in council; and to the conduct which you are to observe in your intercourse with the American Government on this subject.

" The Decree of Berlin was directly and expressly an act of war, by which France prohibited all nations from trade or intercourse with Great Britain, under peril of confiscation of their ships and merchandize; although France had not the means of imposing an actual blockade in any degree adequate to such a purpose. The immediate and professed object of this decree, was the destruction of all British commerce, through means entirely unauthorized by the law of nations, and unauthorized by any received doctrine of legitimate blockade.

" This violation of the established law of civilized nations in war, would have justified Great Britain in retaliating upon the enemy by a similar interdiction of all commerce with France, and with such other countries as might coöperate with France in her system of commercial hostility against Great Britain.

" The object of Great Britain was not the destruction of trade but its preservation, under such regulations as might be compatible with her own security, at the same time that she extended an indulgence to foreign commerce, which strict principle would have entitled her to withhold. The retaliation of Great Britain, therefore, was urged to the full extent of her right. Our prohibition of French trade was not absolute, but modified; and in return for the absolute prohibition of all trade with Great Britain, we prohibited not all commerce with France, but all such commerce with France as should not be carried on through Great Britain. It was evident that this system must prove prejudicial to neutral nations: this calamity was foreseen and deeply regretted. But the injury to neutral nations arose from the aggression of France, which had compelled Great Britain, in her own defence, to resort to adequate retaliatory measures of war. The operation on the American commerce of those precautions which the conduct of France had rendered indispensable to our security, is therefore to be ascribed to the uwarrantable aggression of France, and not to those proceedings on the part of Great Britain, which that aggression had rendered necessary and just.

"From this view of the origin of the orders in council, you will perceive that the object of our system was not to crush the trade of the Continent, but to counteract an attempt to crush the British trade; that we have endeavoured to permit the Continent to receive as large a portion of commerce as might be practicable through Great Britain; and that all our subsequent regulations and every modification of the system by new orders or modes of granting or withholding licences, have been calculated for the purpose of encouraging the trade of neutrals through Great Britain, whenever such encouragement might appear advantageous to the general interests of commerce and consistent with the public safety of the nation,—the preservation of which is the primary object of all national councils and the paramount duty of executive power.

"In every discussion which has taken place we have rested the justification of our orders in council, and the continuance of that system of defence, upon the existence of the Decrees of Berlin and Milan, and upon the perseverance of the enemy in the system of hostility which has subverted the rights of neutral commerce on the Continent. We have, therefore, uniformly declared that whenever France shall have effectually repealed the Decrees of Berlin and Milan, and shall have restored neutral commerce to the condition in which it stood previously to the promulgation of these decrees, we shall immediately repeal our orders in council.

"In contradiction to the statement on which we have founded the justification of our orders in council, France has asserted that the Decree of Berlin was a measure of just retaliation on her part, occasioned by our previous aggression; and the French Government has insisted that our system of blockade, as it existed previously to the Decree of Berlin, was a manifest violation of the received law of nations.

"In order to understand the purport of this allegation, it is necessary to refer to the articles of the

Decree of Berlin, in which are specified the principles of our system of blockade, which France considers to be new and contrary to the law of nations.

"In the 4th and 8th articles it is stated, as a justification of the French decree, that 'Great Britain extends to unfortified towns and commercial ports, to harbours and to the mouths of rivers, their rights of blockade, which by reason and by the usage of nations are applicable only to fortified places, and that the rights of blockade ought to be limited to fortresses really invested by a sufficient force.

"It is added in the same articles, that Great Britain has declared places to be in a state of blockade before which she has not a single ship of war, and even places which the whole British force would be insufficient to blockade,—entire coasts and a whole empire. Neither the practice of Great Britain nor the law of nations has ever sanctioned the rule here laid down by France, that 'no places excepting fortresses in a complete state of investiture, can be deemed lawfully blockaded by sea.' If such a rule were to be admitted, it would become nearly impracticable for Great Britain to attempt the blockade of any port of the Continent; and our submission to this perversion of the law of nations, while it would destroy one of the principal advantages of our naval superiority, would sacrifice the common rights and interests of all maritime states.

"In objecting to the practice of Great Britain in the exercise of the rights of blockade, the Decree of Berlin imputes to us principles which we have never asserted, nor attempted to carry into effect.

The decree does not distinctly specify the particular blockade which France deems exceptionable; but it was evident that the blockade of May 1806 was the principal pretended justification of the Decree of Berlin, although neither the principles on which that blockade was founded, nor its practical operation, afforded any colour for the proceedings of France.

"In point of date the blockade of May 1806 preceded the Berlin Decree, but it was a just and legal blockade, according to the established law of nations, because it was intended to be maintained and was actually maintained by an adequate force, appointed to guard the whole coast described in the notification, and consequently to enforce the blockade.

"Great Britain has never attempted to dispute that in the ordinary course of the law of nations, no blockade can be justifiable or valid, unless it be supported by an adequate force, destined to maintain it, and to expose to hazard all vessels attempting to evade its operation.

"The blockade of May 1806 was notified by Mr. Secretary Fox, on this clear principle; nor was that blockade announced until he had satisfied himself by communication with the Admiralty, that the Admiralty possessed the means and would employ them, of watching the whole coast from Brest to the Elbe, and of effectually enforcing the blockade.

"The blockade of May 1806 was therefore (according to the doctrine maintained by Great Britain) just and lawful in its origin, because it was supported, both in intention and in fact, by an adequate naval force. This was the justification of that blockade, until the period of time when the orders in council were issued.

The orders in council were founded on a distinct principle, that of defensive retaliation; France had declared a blockade of all the ports and coasts of Great Britain and her dependencies, without assigning or being able to assign any force to support that blockade. Such an act of the enemy would have justified a declaration of the blockade of the whole coast of France, even without the application of any particular force to that service. Since the promulgation of the orders in council, the blockade of May 1806 has been sustained and extended by the more comprehensive principles of defensive retaliation on which those regulations are founded; but if the orders in council should be abrogated, the blockade of May 1806 could not continue, under our construction of the law of nations, unless that blockade should be maintained by a due application of an adequate naval force.

"America appears to concur with France in asserting that Great Britain was the original aggressor in the attack on neutral rights, and has particularly objected to the blockade of May 1806, as an obvious instance of that aggression on the part of Great Britain.

"Although the doctrines of the Berlin Decree, respecting the rights of blockade, are not directly asserted by the American Government, Mr. Pinkney's correspondence would appear to countenance the principle on which those doctrines are founded: the objection directly stated by Americans against the blockade of 1806 rests on a supposition that no naval force which Great Britain possessed, or could have employed for such a purpose, could have rendered that blockade effectual; and that therefore it was necessarily irregular, and could not possibly be maintained in conformity to the law of nations.

"Reviewing the course of this statement, it will appear that the blockade of May 1806 cannot be deemed contrary to the law of nations, either under the objections urged by the French, or under those declared or insinuated by the American Government, because the blockade was maintained by a sufficient naval force; that the Decree of Berlin was not therefore justified either under the pretext alleged by France, or under those supported by America; that the orders in council were founded on a just principle of defensive retaliation against the violation of the law of nations committed by France in the Decree of Berlin; that the blockade of May 1806 is now included in the more extensive operations of the orders in council; and lastly, that the orders in council will not be continued beyond the effectual duration of the hostile decrees of France; nor will the blockade of May 1806 continue after the repeal of the orders in council, unless we shall think fit to sustain it by the special application of a sufficient naval force: this fact will not be suffered to remain in doubt; and if the repeal of the orders in council should take place, the intentions of this Government respecting the blockade of May 1806, will be notified at the same time.

"Having thus explained the original foundation of the orders in council, it is now my duty to direct your attention to the actual state of the question now depending between this Government and the United States with relation to the repeal of the orders in council.

"In the letter from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister at Paris, dated the 5th of August, 1810, France announced the repeal of the Decrees of Berlin and Milan in terms of studied ambiguity; which, however, has since been fully explained by the conduct and language of the French Government. The Government of the United States appears to have construed the French letter of the 5th of August, 1810, with reference exclusively to that part of the letter which states 'the hostile decrees are repealed, and that the repeal is to take effect on the 1st of November, 1810,' without adverting to the conditional terms which accompany that declaration.

"The American Government has therefore viewed the letter as an unconditional and unqualified revocation of the Decrees of Berlin and Milan, and has required us, under our uniform declarations, to revoke our orders in council, and has added a demand for the annulment of the blockade of the 6th of May, 1806.

"But the French letter of the 5th of August announced, not an immediate or absolute, but a prospective and conditional repeal of the Decrees of Berlin and Milan, the operation of which repeal was to have commenced on the 1st of November, 1810; on condition either that Great Britain should have repealed, by that time, her orders in council, and should have renounced her principles of blockade, or on condition (if Great Britain should not have made these concessions to France) that the Government of the United States should have opened the trade with France and should have taken measures for asserting the rights of America against Great Britain.

"This construction of the letter of the 5th of August has been confirmed in the most unequivocal manner, not only by the subsequent conduct of France towards America, but expressly by the formal and personal declaration of Buonaparte himself in his speech addressed to the Deputies of the Hanse Towns on the 20th of March, 1811, of which a copy is annexed to this dispatch.

"It is evident, therefore, that the repeal of the Decrees of Berlin and Milan was contingent upon the performance of one of two conditions,—the one required from Great Britain, the other from America in the event of our not submitting to the condition exacted from us.

"The condition exacted from us required not merely that we should repeal our orders in council, or even that we should annul the blockade of 1810; but that we should renounce our system and principles of blockade, which we contend to be just and legitimate, recognised by the law of nations and essential to the security of our maritime rights.

"To this unwarrantable exaction Great Britain cannot consent to submit; and as we cannot comply with the condition on which the revocation of the Berlin and Milan Decrees depends, as far as relates to us, their supposed revocation becomes nugatory, unless America shall pursue the unjust course of performing the alternative condition proposed to her by France, and shall proceed to enforce the submission of Great Britain to the inordinate demands of France.

"The Government of America appears to be disposed to adopt this course and to enforce the Non-Intercourse or the Non-Importation Law against Great Britain, unless we shall repeal our orders in council, and shall annul the blockade of 1806.

"In answer to this demand we have replied that France has neither actually repealed the hostile Decrees, nor announced her intention of repealing them, on the terms proposed by America to us; nor is it reasonable to suppose that France would be satisfied with an acquiescence in those terms, unless by the revocation of the blockade of May 1806, we signified an intention of renouncing also our general system and principles of blockade. Without a concession to this extent on the part of Great Britain, no reason exists to justify any other conclusion than that France would still maintain her decrees without any relaxation.

"In addition to this consideration, it is obvious that even if the Decrees of Berlin and Milan should be repealed by France, the subsequent French decrees (prohibiting not only all commerce in British articles in every port of the Continent, but all colonial and neutral trade,) would leave the most pernicious and destructive parts of the hostile system of France in full violence.

"The pretext of municipal right, under which the violence of the enemy is now exercised against neutral commerce in every part of the Continent, will not be admitted by Great Britain, nor can we ever deem the repeal of the French hostile decrees to be effectual until neutral commerce shall be restored to the condition in which it stood previously to the commencement of the French system of commercial warfare as promulgated in the decrees to which this dispatch refers.

"In this state the question rested at the period of time when Mr. Pinkney stated that he could not proceed in the discussion, but must refer the result to his own Government.

"His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, commands me to direct you to resume the discussion with the United States at this point, and to endeavour, by a temperate appeal, to enforce the justice of the arguments stated in this dispatch, and in the correspondence which has passed with Mr. Pinkney.

"Events have indisputably proved that our construction of the nature of the alleged repeal of the Berlin and Milan Decrees was correct; but the American Government appears to have misunderstood the real purport of that transaction; and under this erroneous construction to have induced the subjects of America to commence a trade with France in the expectation that Great Britain must have repealed her orders in council before these commercial adventures could reach France.

"Under these circumstances the condemnation of vessels (which have sailed from America with the expectation of finding the orders in council actually repealed) has been stayed until accurate information could be obtained, whether the French regulations had been so effectually and absolutely repealed as to induce this Government to issue an order for the release of such vessels.

"Although we cannot consent to repeal the orders in council in the present state of the question, this Government will not condemn the property of merchants which has been exposed to capture by the error of their own Government, as long as any hope can be entertained of prevailing upon America to correct that error, and to render justice to Great Britain.

"With regard to the blockade of 1806, the argument on that subject has already been stated in this dispatch.

"That blockade would not be continued after the repeal of the orders in council unless it should be maintained by an adequate force, actually applied to support it, according to the law of nations.

"But we cannot consent to connect the revocation of the blockade of 1806 with the discussion which has arisen between Great Britain and France, nor to involve ourselves in any concession which shall impair the maritime rights of this country.

"Upon the whole matter, you will observe that if America should absolutely enforce her Non-Intercourse or Non-Importation Act against Great Britain, and shall open her trade with France, our orders in council must remain in force, and must operate to the interruption of that trade, until France shall repeal her hostile decrees absolutely and unconditionally, and shall restore neutral commerce to its former state.

"Even in this situation, it is the anxious desire of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to avoid a direct rupture with America.

"But no extremity can induce his Royal Highness to relinquish the ancient and established rules of maritime war, the maintenance of which is indispensable not only to the commercial interests but to the naval strength and to the national honour of Great Britain, as well as to the rights of all maritime states, and to the general prosperity of navigation and commerce throughout the civilized world. I am, &c.,

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

"A. J. Foster, Esq."

If freedom be the life of trade, commercial liberty can only live in a state of peace. Peace is the air it breathes—when it has it not, it dies. The discussions with America develope one great prominent fact—the three greatest civilized nations on the globe engaged in one vast conspiracy against free trade—blockades non-importation, non-intercourse,—inventing check upon check, and devising every possible artifice to fetter industry, and restrain communication between man and man! The "general prosperity of navigation and commerce throughout the civilized world," can only be promoted by peace. War, it cannot be too often repeated, suspends all commerce, and multiplies the sorrows and miseries of the human race. Yet how impatient men are to rush into war! The love of gold-lace and scarlet, "tags, feathers, and martial foolery," blind men to the consequences,—to the evil passions it engenders, the commercial ruin, the oppressive taxes, and the manifold burdens it involves.

"No tax-gatherer shall ever enter the house of an American citizen!" was the declaration of Mr. Jefferson: but the entrance of the tax-gatherer can only be prevented by the strict maintenance of peace; and the Americans will lose that inestimable advantage, freedom from taxation, the moment they forget the wise counsels of the virtuous and illustrious founders of their great republic, by embarking in war.

It is the more necessary to make these remarks, because there are in the present day to be found, on both sides of the Atlantic, those who would not regret to see England and America engaged in a deadly and unnatural quarrel. The English people at large cherish no feelings of enmity toward their republican brethren; on the contrary, while they look with reverence to their own venerable constitution, which they have inherited from the common ancestors of both nations, they sincerely admire many of the free and beneficial institutions of the United States. A glorious destiny is before the Anglo-Saxon race in the New World,—if they continue in the paths of peace, and are careful to regard the rights of neighbouring states by a strict observance of the law of nations.

CHAPTER XI.

Marquess Wellesley resolves to retire from the Cabinet.—Difference of Opinion with his Colleagues respecting the Peninsular War, the Government of Ireland, and the Emancipation of the Roman Catholics.—The Private Sentiments of the King no longer an Obstacle to Emancipation.—Tenders his Resignation to the Prince Regent —Mr. Perceval endeavours to procure his immediate Removal.—The Regent requests Lord Wellesley to retain the Office of Foreign Secretary.—The Letter of the Regent to the Duke of York.—Lords Grey and Grenville refuse to take Office.—Marquess Wellesley delivers his Opinions (A.D. 1812) on the Catholic Claims.—Observations on the Irish Church. —Assassination of Mr. Perceval. — Memorandum of Lord Eldon respecting the Opinions of the Ministers, as to a Union with Marquess Wellesley and Mr. Canning.—Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning refuse to compromise their opinions on the Catholic Question.—Mr. Stuart Wortley's motion for an Address to the Regent, respecting the Formation of an Efficient Administration.—The Regent empowers Lord Wellesley to form a Government.—Ministerial Crisis.—Negotiations. —Correspondence between Marquess Wellesley and Earl of Liverpool, also between his Lordship and Mr. Canning, Lord Moira, Earl Grey, and Lord Grenville.—Failure of the Attempt to form a Government. —Earl of Liverpool continues in Office.

At the close of the year 1811 the Marquess Wellesley resolved to retire from the administration. He objected to the narrow and imperfect scale on which the efforts in the Peninsula were conducted; he had yielded his opinions to his colleagues on many other important points, and he felt that the Cabinet possessed neither the ability nor the knowledge to devise useful plans, and were deficient in temper and discernment. To Mr. Perceval's judgment he could not pay any deference without injury to the public service. The state of Ireland and the claims of the Catholics to a participation in the rights of citizenship, were now becoming prominent questions, the private sentiments of the King being no longer insuperable obstacles to their discussion. On these points there was no community of sentiment between the Foreign Secretary and the other members of the Government. On the 16th of January, therefore, the Marquess Wellesley tendered his resignation to the Prince Regent; but expressed a wish that the precise time of his retirement from the Foreign Office might be accommodated to the pleasure of his Royal Highness, and the convenience of the Premier, as soon as the restrictions on the Regent should expire. Mr. Perceval, it was said, then exerted himself to procure the Marquess Wellesley's immediate withdrawal; proposing various persons to the Regent to supersede his Lordship. His Royal Highness, however, pressed Lord Wellesley to retain his post; but his Lordship declining to serve *under* Mr. Perceval, or compromise his opinions on the Catholic question, delivered up the seals on the 19th of February.

While these events were passing, the letter from the Regent to the Duke of York, already noticed,* was written. Lords Grey and Grenville declined a junction with the extreme Tories in office. Before the Marquess Wellesley's retirement from the Foreign Secretaryship, his Lordship stated his opinions on the Catholic question with great force in the House of

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* *Vide* page 182.

Lords; and in the debate on the motion of the Earl of Donoughmore, on the 21st of April, in the same year, the noble Marquess, to quote the words of the Annual Register, "again greatly distinguished himself by the enlarged and statesman-like views which he gave of the subject." He argued upon the impolicy of continuing exclusions which tended to perpetuate a feeling of hostility to the Protestant Church:—

"I do not wish," observed the Marquess Wellesley, "to speak with disrespect of that Protestant establishment in Ireland, whose security is so readily believed in this country, nor to cast any reflections upon those who preside over that establishment; yet I know that the true state of the Church of Ireland, in a very great degree, consists of bishops without clergy, churches without clergymen, and clergymen without churches;—parishes of considerable extent without clergymen, church, or glebe; many parishes frequently consolidated into one, with a common church too remote for the parishioners to resort to. Can a Church so circumstanced possess internal strength for its own defence against the mass of opposition excited against it; and is not that strength less likely to be increased by arming itself with violence against the mass of discontent set in array by the intolerance of the laws enacted for its support?"

The assassination of Mr. Perceval in the lobby of the House of Commons, occurred about three months after Lord Wellesley's retirement from the Cabinet; and the Ministry, deprived of its head by this tragical incident, seemed utterly unable to conduct the affairs of the country. The Earl of Liverpool, as ministerial leader, made overtures to the Marquess Wellesley and Mr. Canning, but, as the correspondence between their Lordships will show, was unsuccessful in his attempt to induce these high-minded statesmen to accept seats in the Cabinet. Lord Eldon has left us a very interesting memorandum of the opinions of the several members of the Government at this crisis as to the possibility of maintaining their ground without the assistance of Lords Grey and Grenville, or of Mr. Canning and Marquess Wellesley:—

"*Are you of opinion that, G.* and G.† out, and W.‡ and C.§ out, you can carry on the Government?*

Mulgrave.—No.

Lord Sid.—Doubtful.

Harrowby.—Not.

Bathurst.—Dangerous to P.‖ and Country.

Buckinghamshire.—Doubtful.

Westmoreland.—Yes.

Camden.—Very doubtful, not desperate.

Castlereagh.—Doubtful to say the least without a proposition.

Ryder.—Extremely difficult.

Eldon.—It might.

1. Nobody with Lord W. *at the head.*

2. If the P. puts *at the head* any member of the

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* Grey. † Grenville. ‡ Wellesley § Canning. ‖ Prince Regent.

present Administration, will the rest support him ?"* Yes."

Lord Eldon expressed the opinion, that Wellesley and Canning "were so sick of being out," that they would readily accede to Lord Liverpool's propositions and consent to place the Catholic question in abeyance. The Chancellor, however, had formed an erroneous estimate of the sentiments and strong feelings of these distinguished men on that vital question. They resolved to stand or fall with the Catholic cause. On the 21st. of May, Mr. Stuart Wortley, afterwards Lord Wharncliffe, President of the Council, lately deceased, then one of the representatives for Yorkshire, submitted a motion to the House of Commons for an address to the Prince Regent, praying his Royal Highness to take such measures as might be best calculated to form an efficient administration. Lord Milton seconded the resolution; and after an animated debate it was carried by a majority of four; the House thus virtually pronouncing a vote of condemnation on the Liverpool-Castlereagh Government. The Prince Regent, in answer to the address of the House, replied, "I shall take into my serious and immediate consideration the address which I received from the House of Commons." His Royal Highness forthwith entered into communication with the Marquess Wellesley, entrusting to his Lordship authority to form an administration. The steps which the noble Marquess took in his endeavour to give effect to the Regent's commands, and the principles on which he intended to constitute a government, are detailed in the following interesting correspondence.

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* *Vide* the Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon by Horace Twiss, Esq.

Papers relative to Lord Liverpool's proposal to Lord Wellesley, May 17th, 1812.

No. 1.

Minute of Conversation between Mr. Canning and Lord Liverpool, dated 17*th May*, 1812.

"Gloucester Lodge, Sunday, May 17th, 1812.

Lord Liverpool stated to me, that he was commanded by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to make to me the following communication:—

"That upon the melancholy event of Mr. Perceval's death, his Royal Highness being desirous of continuing his administration upon its present basis, was desirous also of strengthening it as much as possible, by associating to it such persons in public life as agreed most nearly and generally in the principles upon which public affairs had been conducted.

"That, with this view, his Royal Highness naturally looked to Lord Wellesley and to me.

"That he (Lord Liverpool) was authorised to express the disposition of all his colleagues to act with Lord Wellesley and me, under an arrangement which might be at once consistent with their own honour and duty, and honourable and satisfactory to us.

"That with respect to Lord Castlereagh, it was fair that it should be distinctly understood that the situation in which he stands, both in this Government, and in the House of Commons, was to be preserved to him.

"That with respect to official arrangements, he (Lord L.) would not have been the bearer of any proposition to me, but one which was understood as comprising my friends. In answer to a question put by me, Lord L. stated, that his colleagues were desirous that he should be appointed to the office of First Lord of the Treasury; and that this desire was known to the Prince Regent when his Royal Highness commanded Lord Liverpool to undertake this communication.

"Lord Liverpool added, that he was ready to answer any other inquiry that I might wish to make; or to clear up anything that he might have imperfectly explained. I said, that I thought it better to receive his communication just as he gave it to me, and to defer making any remark, or giving any answer whatever, until I should have communicated it to my friends: Lord Liverpool himself undertaking to see Lord Wellesley.

"I would only therefore ask—Whether I was to consider the opinion and policy of the Government, as remaining altogether unchanged upon the question relating to the laws affecting the Roman Catholics?

"Lord Liverpool answered, that his own opinions upon this subject remained unchanged; and that he was not aware that those of his colleagues had undergone any change.

"I then wrote this minute in Lord Liverpool's presence, which he then read over, and suggested such corrections as appeared to him necessary for making it perfectly accurate,

(Signed) "GEORGE CANNING."

No. 2.

Minute of Conversation between Lord Wellesley and Lord Liverpool, 17th of May 1812.

"Apsley House, 17th May, 1812, quarter past 5, P.M.

"Lord Liverpool came to me immediately after his visit to Mr. Canning, and remained with me for about half an hour. Soon after Lord Liverpool's departure, I received the annexed paper from Mr. Canning. Lord Liverpool's conversation with me was substantially the same as that which is described to have passed with Mr. Canning. Any difference which appeared, arose necessarily from my questions and observations, which were made without knowledge of what passed between Lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning. After receiving Lord Liverpool's verbal communication nearly in the terms stated by Mr. Canning, I inquired, first, what was to be the policy of Government with relation to the Roman Catholics? To this question Lord Liverpool returned the same answer stated in Mr. Canning's paper to have been returned to a similar question.

"Secondly, I observed to Lord Liverpool, that he was apprised of my opinion, that our efforts in the Peninsula had been conducted on an inadequate and imperfect scale, which could not be expected to accomplish the ultimate objects of the war in that quarter; that I had for a long time considered an extension of our system in the Peninsula to be indispensably necessary, and easily practicable: that I was aware of the impropriety (in my present situation) of urging any detailed questions to Lord Liverpool on this point; but that I mentioned it now, because it must form a principal consideration in my answer to the proposition which he had brought to me.

"Lord Liverpool said that he did not agree in my opinion respecting the scale of the efforts which we had hitherto made in the Peninsula, which he had thought as great as it had been possible to make; that there never had been any limit to our exertions in that quarter, but what arose out of the question of practicability (that is, the means of increasing and supplying our armies); and that he had never heard any specific plan by which those means might have been carried further, though the subject had been often most anxiously considered in my presence; that circumstances had occurred since my resignation, which did not then exist, and into the particulars of which it would not be proper for him to enter at this time, which might enable Government to extend, to a certain degree, the military operations in the Peninsula; and the system of himself and his colleagues would be, as he contended it always had been, to make the greatest efforts in the cause of the Peninsula, which the resources of the country rendered possible.

"Thirdly, I inquired whether all the general constituent parts of the present Cabinet were to remain. He believed it was known to me, that some of the members of the Cabinet had been long desirous of retiring, and would be ready, therefore, now to afford facilities to any new arrangement.

"In answer to a question put by me respecting Lord Sidmouth and his friends, he said they were to remain.

"Fourthly, I stated to Lord Liverpool, that I made no inquiry respecting the proposed distribution and allocation of offices, because that circumstances would not constitute the basis of my decision upon the proposition which he had brought to me. Lord Liverpool observed, that the distribution of offices was a matter open to future adjustment, to be regulated for the honour of all parties.

"Fifthly, When Lord Liverpool informed me, that the *leading* in the House of Commons was to be preserved to Lord Castlereagh, I remarked, that in any situation which I might ever hold in any administration, I should feel great obligation to any member of the Government, who would undertake that charge which was called the *leading* in the House of Parliament in which I sat; although I was fully aware of the great importance which that charge necessarily conveyed to the person who exercised it, and of the great influence which it must give to him, in the general administration and patronage of the Government.

"Sixthly, I desired to know, whether all those persons now designated by the name of the "Opposition," were to be excluded from the proposed scheme of administration? Lord Liverpool answered, that no principle of exclusion was intended; but that he was not authorised to make any proposal to any persons of the description which I had mentioned.

"Seventhly, Considering the course which Lord Liverpool had observed in making this communication, I asked him, whether he applied to me by command of the Prince Regent, as a part of Mr. Canning's suite? I reminded Lord Liverpool of the constant and unabated exertions which I had made to open every avenue for the return of Mr. Canning to the public service; remarking, at the same time, that I never had attempted to press that point beyond the honour and feelings of Mr. Perceval's administration. I stated that I could not consider any administration to be constituted on a foundation of justice towards individual talents and services, or towards the interests of the country, in which Mr. Canning should not hold a high efficient station. But I added, that Mr. Canning was under no engagement to me, which could preclude his acceptance of any office which might be offered him; that on the other hand, Mr. Canning would certainly make the same declaration with regard to my perfect freedom. Lord Liverpool said, that he had pursued this course of communication, being convinced that, under the present circumstances, I would not accept office unless a fair proposal was made to Mr. Canning. I declared to Lord Liverpool that he was correct in this view of my sentiments towards Mr. Canning,

—repeating, however, that Mr. Canning and I were perfectly free to act as each might think fit, and that our agreement in many great public principles, could not affect questions of mere official arrangements.

"Eighthly. I expressed my wish to receive this communication in writing—to answer it in writing—and also to submit my sentiments upon the whole transaction in an audience of the Prince Regent.

"Lord Liverpool informed me that Mr. Canning would transmit to me a copy of the minute of Lord Liverpool's conversation taken in his presence; and Lord Liverpool desired me to consider that paper as the written communication which I wished to receive. I agreed to Lord Liverpool's proposal on this point. I then informed Lord Liverpool, that I would return my answer in writing to that paper.

"Whatever might be the tenor of my answer, with regard to the great public considerations on which it must be founded, I expressed my hope that Lord Liverpool would be assured of my sincere personal respect and esteem. I now transmit this minute to Lord Liverpool, requesting him to insert any correction which he may think requisite.

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

"May 18, 1812.

"Corrected by Lord Liverpool and returned to me.

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

No. 3.

Note from Mr. Canning to Lord Wellesley, enclosing a Letter to Mr. Canning from Lord Liverpool, relative to Lord Castlereagh.

(Copy.)

"Gloucester Lodge, Sunday night, May 17th, 1812.

"My dear Wellesley,

"I have just received from Lord Liverpool a letter, of which the enclosed is a copy. I transmit it to you to be added, according to his desire, to the copy of the minute of his verbal communication of this morning. Ever affectionately your's, G. C."

Copy in No. 3.

LORD LIVERPOOL TO MR. CANNING.

(Private.)

"Fife House, May 17th, 1812.

"My dear Canning,

"I think, upon reflection, it is due to Lord Castlereagh to state, in writing, what I mentioned to you verbally, that, from motives of delicacy, he absented himself from the Cabinet on the occasions on which the subject in your memorandum was determined.

"I did not, however, make the communication to you without having reason to know that he would be no obstacle in the way of an arrangement, founded on the principles in the memorandum.

"I will beg of you to communicate this letter to any persons to whom you may communicate the memorandum. (Signed) LIVERPOOL."

No. 4.

Copy of a Letter from Marquess Wellesley to the Earl of Liverpool, transmitting Lord W.'s Reply to Lord Liverpool's Proposal.

"Apsley House, May 18, 1812, half-past three, P.M.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I enclose a paper, containing my reply to the communication, which you were so kind as to make to me yesterday. Although I find myself compelled to decline the proposals which you conveyed, I request you to accept my grateful thanks for the amicable and satisfactory manner in which you communicated with me; and to be assured, that I shall always entertain the most sincere and cordial sentiments of personal respect and esteem for you. Believe me, my dear Lord, most sincerely yours,

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

No. 4.

Lord Wellesley's Reply to Lord Liverpool's Proposition.

"Apsley House, May 18.

"From the communication received through Lord Liverpool, I understand that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been graciously pleased to signify his desire of strengthening his Administration upon its present basis, by associating me with it as one of those persons who agree most nearly and generally in the principles upon which public affairs have been conducted. From the same communication I also derive the gratifying intelligence, that Lord Liverpool's colleagues have authorised him to express a disposition to act with me under an arrangement consistent with their own honour and duty, and honourable and satisfactory to me.

"I receive this notification of the Prince Regent's commands with every sentiment of duty and affection; while it affords me matter of just satisfaction, that, to the distinguished honour of such condescending notice from his Royal Highness, is added so high a testimony of the confidence and esteem of all the respectable persons composing his present Administration. With all humility towards the exalted authority from which this proposition proceeds, and with the most sincere regard for those through whom it is conveyed, I must, however, declare that I should have declined it at the first instant of its approach, if motives of deference and submissive attachment had not imposed upon me the olibgation of receiving it with respectful consideration.

"The proposition necessarily rests upon a supposition, that I entertain no such difference of public sentiment with the present Administration, as should preclude me from acting with them, under an arrangement compatible with our mutual and respective honour and duty.

"But it appears from Lord Liverpool's candid and explicit statement, that upon the important question which regards the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, Lord Liverpool's opinions remain unchanged; nor is he aware that the sentiments of his colleagues on that subject have undergone any change. I must therefore conclude, that the policy which has been pursued respecting the Roman Catholics during the present session of Parliament is to be continued without abatement; the general constituent parts of the present Cabinet are to remain unchanged; the highest and most efficient offices in the state therefore are to be filled by persons who still conceive themselves to be bound by duty, honour, and conscience, not only to resist any mitigation of the present condition of the Roman Catholics, but even to prevent the consideration of the laws which affect that large portion of the population of the empire. I cannot concur in the principle on which the present Administration has conducted this important branch of public affairs; on this point I have recently expressed the strongest difference of opinion with the present Administration. The declaration of Lord Liverpool precludes the hope of any such change in the policy of the present Administration towards the Roman Catholics as could satisfy my judgment. This difference is of the utmost importance: without any other obstacle, therefore, this alone compels me to decline the proposition which Lord Liverpool has conveyed to me.

"I entertain a confident expectation, that when the Prince Regent shall have considered the nature of this difficulty, he will extend his indulgence to my humble representation, and will relieve me from the pressure of commands which I could not obey without sacrificing a public principle of the highest obligation.

"These observations comprise a sufficient reply to the communication received through Lord Liverpool. But I deem it to be a duty towards the Prince Regent to declare, that the considerations which induced me, on the 19th of February, to resign the station which I had the honour to hold in his Royal Highness's service, have acquired additional force since that time, and would constitute an insuperable obstacle to my acceptance of any station in the present Administration.

"I originally expressed my desire to withdraw from Mr. Perceval's administration, because my general opinions, for a long time past on various important questions, had not sufficient weight in that cabinet to justify me towards the public, or towards my own character, in continuing in office.

"My objections to remaining in that cabinet arose, in a great degree, from the imperfect scale on which the affairs in the Peninsula were conducted. It was always stated to me that it was impracticable to enlarge that system. I thought that it was perfectly practicable to extend the plan in the Peninsula, and that it was neither safe nor honest towards this country or the allies to continue the present inadequate scheme.

From Lord Liverpool's statement upon this point, it is evident that, since my resignation, it has been found practicable to make some extension of the system in the Peninsula; but it is still intimated that my views are more extensive than the resources of the country can enable the Government to reduce to practice. I, however, still entertain the same views and opinions, without diminution or alteration; and I am convinced that a considerable extension of the scale of our operations in the Peninsula, and also an effectual connection of many branches of our system in that quarter, is one object of indispensable necessity and of easy attainment.

With such a decided difference of opinion in relation to the conduct and management of the war, my return into a cabinet composed as the present is, would offer to me no better prospect than the renewal of discussions which have hitherto proved unavailing. I learn from Lord Liverpool that he has received no authority, in forming the intended administration, to make any proposal to any of those persons now designated by the name of "the Opposition." My inquiry on this point originated in a sincere conviction (founded upon an attentive observation of the general state of public opinion, and of the condition of the empire,) that no administration which shall not comprise some of those persons, can prove advantageous to the Prince Regent, conciliatory towards Ireland, and equal to the conduct of the war on a scale of sufficient extent.

"It has been stated erroneously, that the first act of the Prince Regent, upon his approach to unrestricted authority, was to establish Mr. Perceval's administration; but the fact is, that his Royal Highness's first act at that crisis was to dissolve Mr. Perceval's administration, and to endeavour to form a cabinet upon a more extended and liberal basis. This endeavour was frustrated at that moment, and the formation of such a cabinet was represented to his Royal Highness to be impracticable. It has, however, since appeared evident to me, from the discussions and declarations which I have witnessed in Parliament, that his Royal Highness's benevolent intentions on that subject are now perfectly practicable; and that their accomplishment would tend to promote internal peace and tranquillity, and to invigorate the whole system of our external operations. Impressed with this sentiment, I should be untrue to his Royal Highness's interests and honour, as well as to the prosperity of the empire, if I concurred in any arrangement of an administration which did not include a fair and full consideration of this most important point.

" After such a dispassionate consideration, my opinion is that a cabinet might be formed on an intermediary principle respecting the Roman Catholic claims, equally exempt from the dangers of instant, unqualified concession, and from those of inconsiderate, peremptory exclusion: the entire resources of the empire might be applied to the great objects of the war with general consent, upon a full understanding of the real exigency of the present crisis; and concord and union at home might secure ultimate and permanent success abroad.

(Signed) " WELLESLEY."

"Gloucester Lodge, May 18th, 1812.

"MY DEAR LIVERPOOL,

"I have communicated to such of my friends as I had an immediate opportunity of consulting, the minute, taken in your presence, of the proposition which you conveyed to me yesterday.

"In a case in which I felt that my decision either way might be liable to misapprehension, I was desirous rather to collect the opinions of persons whose judgment I esteem, than to act on the impulse of my own first feelings. The result of their opinions is, that, by entering into the Administration upon the terms proposed to me, I should incur such a loss of personal and public character as would disappoint the object which his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has at heart, and must render my accession to his Government a new source of weakness rather than an addition of strength.

"To become a part of your Administration with the previous knowledge of your unaltered opinions as to the policy of resisting all consideration of the state of the laws affecting his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, would, it is felt, be to lend myself to the defeating of my own declared opinions on that most important question,—opinions which are as far as those of any man from being favourable to precipitate and unqualified concession, but which rest on the conviction that it is the duty of the advisers of the Crown, with a view to the peace, tranquillity, and strength of the empire, to take that whole question into their early and serious consideration, and earnestly to endeavour to bring it to a final and satisfactory settlement.

"With this result of the opinions of those whom I have consulted, my own entirely concurs; and such being the ground of my decision, it is wholly unnecessary to advert to any topics of inferior importance.

"After the expressions, however, with which you were charged on the part of all your colleagues, I should not be warranted in omitting to declare that no objection of a personal sort should have prevented me from uniting with any or all of them in the public service, if I could have done so with honour, and if, in my judgment, a cabinet, so constituted in all its parts, could have afforded to the country, under its present great and various difficulties, an adequately efficient administration. I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of adding, that the manner of your communication with me has entirely corresponded with the habits and sentiments of a friendship of so many years,—a friendship which our general concurrence on many great political principles has strengthened, and which our occasional differences have in no degree impaired.

"On the public grounds which I have stated, I must entreat you to lay at the feet of the Prince Regent, together with the warmest expressions of my dutiful attachment to his Royal Highness, and of my acknowledgment for the favourable opinion which his Royal Highness has been graciously pleased to entertain of me; my humble but earnest prayer to be excused from accepting office on terms which, by a sacrifice of public character, must render me inefficient for the service of his Royal Highness's Government.

"I presume at the same time humbly to solicit an audience of the Prince Regent, for the purpose of explaining in person to his Royal Highness the grounds of my conduct on an occasion on which I should be grieved to think that his Royal Highness could, for a moment, consider me as wanting either in duty to his Royal Highness or in zeal for the public service, and assuring his Royal Highness that my inability to assist in forwarding his Highness's purpose of procuring strength to his Administration, on the plan which has been suggested by his Royal Highness's confidential servants, does not arise from any disposition on my part to shrink from the encounter of those difficulties which press at this time upon the country and upon the Crown. I am, &c., (Signed) GEORGE CANNING."

(No. 5.)

Explanatory Letter from Lord Liverpool to the Marquess Wellesley.

"Fife House, May 19th, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"After the receipt of the paper which you sent to me in the afternoon of yesterday, I should certainly have felt it to be unnecessary and fruitless to trouble you with any further correspondence, if I were not desirous to correct the misapprehension into which you appear to have fallen respecting my opinions, and those of my colleagues, upon the Roman Catholic question.

"In the communication which passed between us on Sunday, as well as that which I previously had with Mr. Canning, I certainly stated my opinions upon the Roman Catholic question to remain unchanged, and that I was not aware that those of my colleagues had undergone any change.

"With respect to myself individually, I must protest against its being inferred from any declaration of mine, that it is, or ever has been, my opinion that under no circumstances it would be possible to make any alteration in the laws respecting the Roman Catholics.

"Upon the last occasion on which the subject was discussed in Parliament, I expressly stated that circumstances might arise, in which, in my judgment, some alterations of those laws would be advisable. I have always been desirous of hearing the specific proposition which should explain distinctly what part of the existing securities it was intended to repeal, what part it was intended to preserve, and what were the new securities which it has been so often declared must be substituted in the place of some of those which are at present in force. I have never heard any satisfactory explanation on this point.

"I will fairly own that, in the present state of the opinions and feelings of the Roman Catholics, I do not believe such a project to be practicable, consistently with the attainment of the avowed objects of really satisfying the Roman Catholics, and of affording an adequate security to the Established Church and constitution.

"Entertaining this opinion, I have felt it to be my duty to continue to resist parliamentary inquiry on that subject, which, in my judgment, could be productive of no other effect than that of alarming the Protestants on the one hand, and deluding and deceiving the Roman Catholics on the other.

"With respect to the opinions of my colleagues, there are some who entirely agree with me in the view which I have taken of this question; but I am sure it must be known to you from discussions at which you have been present, that there are others who have always entertained and avowed different opinions from those professed by me upon some parts of this subject.

"You must recollect that considerations of a very high importance, but which might be only temporary in their nature, induced us all, up to a very late period, to be decidedly of opinion that it was not proper, that under such circumstances the measure should be entertained.

"You may be of opinion that, since the month of February last, these considerations have ceased to be in force; but they are still regarded by others as not having lost their weight. Besides the consideration to which I have referred, the conduct and temper which the Roman Catholics have been induced to manifest,—the principle upon which the question has been brought forward,—the circumstances of Europe at this time, give rise to objections which are felt in a greater or less degree by different persons. I have thought this explanation due to my colleagues and to myself.

"In one point we are all agreed, that this is not the moment at which the question ought to be entertained with a view to any immediate practical consequence. I am aware that in this sense of our duty our opinions may be at variance with yours: but it is material that these opinions should not be misunderstood, or subject to the interpretation to which my silence might render them liable if I had not returned some answer to that part of your paper.

"Upon the subject of the manner in which the war in the Peninsula has been managed, I forbear entering into any particulars at present; but I think it material to observe, with respect to my declaration, that since your resignation it had been found practicable to make some extension of the military efforts in the Peninsula; that this has not arisen from any means which were in existence at the time when you were in office, and which there had been then any disposition or objection to direct to that object; but it has grown out of events which have subsequently occurred, and which may place at the disposal of Government means which were at that time unavoidably applied to another service. As this letter is merely explanatory, I will not give you the trouble of returning any answer to it; but I am sure you will see the justice and propriety of considering it as a part of the correspondence which has passed between us on the subject to which it relates. I am, &c.,

(Signed) "LIVERPOOL."

"Marquess Wellesley, K. G."

(No. 6.)

Copy of Lord Wellesley's Reply to Lord Liverpool's Explanatory letter of the 19*th May, of* 1812.

"Apsley House, May 21, 1812.

"My dear Lord,

"Although you have had the goodness to dispense with my returning an answer to your letter of the 19th inst., some further observations on my part may perhaps contribute to promote the professed object of that letter, by explaining and correcting whatever may appear doubtful or erroneous in the course of our recent correspondence.

"When you informed me that your opinion upon the claims of Roman Catholics remained unchanged, and that you were not aware of any change in the opinion of your Colleagues on that subject, I certainly concluded, that the policy which has been pursued during the present session of Parliament, would be continued by the new Cabinet. Subsequent reflection satisfies me, that such a conclusion was just and reasonable; nor can I admit that I have fallen into any misapprehension of that system of policy, when I have described it as consisting, not only in the denial of any present relief to the Roman Catholics, but even a peremptory refusal to consider the state of the law which affects their civil condition.

"Whatever may be the different character or complexion of the opinions of the several members of the present Cabinet, the practical result has been to pursue the course which I have described, during the present session of Parliament; and your explanation on this point closes with an admission that you are all agreed to continue the same policy in the present moment.

"No suggestion is made of the time or circumstances in which any alteration of this system of policy can be expected,—no prospect is afforded of any conciliatory proceeding which might tend to open the way to an amicable settlement; and while a desire of hearing specific propositions of security is professed, the very consideration of the question is denied to Parliament, and is not pursued by any other authority.

"This statement is no misapprehension of the tenor of your explanatory letter; and in such a state of the practical consequences of the united counsels of the present Cabinet, it may be deemed superfluous to analyze individual sentiments. This task (however useless with regard to present practice) is required from me, by the strong protest which you have made against any inference to be drawn from any declaration of yours, 'That it is, or ever has been your opinion, that *under no circumstances* it would be possible to make any alteration in the laws respecting the Roman Catholics.' To this protest you have added an assurance, that 'upon the last occasion on which the subject was discussed in Parliament, you expressly stated *that circumstances might arise*, in which, in your judgment, some alteration in those laws would be advisable.'

"I confess freely to you, that I had always understood your recorded opinion on this subject in a very different sense: I had supposed that you considered the disabilities imposed by statute upon the Roman Catholics, not as temporary and occasional securities against a temporary and occasional danger, but as an integral and permanent part of the constitution in Church and State, established at the Revolution.

"In this opinion I had always understood that several of the principal members of the present Cabinet concurred with you, and that you felt in common an apprehension that the removal of any important part of this system of restraint would endanger the foundations of the establishment of our laws, liberties, and religion.

"Viewing in this light your sentiments, and those of the respectable persons to whom I refer, I am persuaded that I shall not be suspected of intending to cast any reflection upon the honour or honesty of those principles, or of the persons who maintain them.

"I have ever considered those principles to be pure and honest in the minds in which I supposed them to reside; and while giving full credit to their sincerity, I lament their erroneous foundation and dangerous tendency.

"I must further declare that, from some accident, I did not hear the statement in Parliament to which you refer, as having been made by you on the last occasion in the House of Lords. I now, however, understand your opinion to be, that *circumstances may arise* in which, in your judgment, some alteration would be advisable in the laws affecting the Roman Catholics.

"I should be desirous of urging the same inquiry respecting *circumstances*, which you have made respecting *securities;* and I shall be anxious to hear the specific statement of all or any of those circumstances under which you would advise any alteration in the laws respecting Roman Catholics.

"The explanation which you require respecting securities, is attainable only by a full consideration and discussion of the whole subject; and I therefore view the declared intention of resisting the first step towards such a discussion as an effectual barrier against that explanation which you consider to be the necessary preliminary to any alteration of the existing statutes.

"The details of your reasoning on this part of the question, render the prospect of any settlement utterly hopeless. You require a change in the state of the opinions, feelings, conduct, and temper of the Roman Catholics, as a preliminary even to the consideration of the causes of their complaints. But is it possible to expect effectual change in the temper of the Roman Catholic body, while you refuse even to inquire into the nature of their grievances?

"The repeated rejection of their claim, without any other deliberation than that which has arisen on the mere question of taking the petition into consideration, is not a cause of proceeding calculated to mitigate the severity of disappointment. Reason and moderation must appear in the consideration of their prayer, if we hope to infuse those qualities into their proceedings. You require also a change in the circumstances of Europe: ignorant of the events which may have furnished any hope of such a change, since I had the honour of a share in his Royal Highnesses councils, I must consider the determination to delay this interesting question until Europe shall have assumed a new aspect as a virtual negative upon the substance of a claim; and I feel this point with a greater degree of pain, because I am convinced that the continuance of Ireland in her present condition must protract, if not perpetuate, the present unhappy condition of Europe. But until these preliminaries shall have been established, you declare that it will be your duty to resist parliamentary inquiry, which, in your judgment, could be productive of no other effect than 'to alarm the Protestants, and to delude the Roman Catholics.' At the same time, you offer no hope that the means of relief will be opened by any other authority. I cannot understand through what channel of reason, or passion, the Protestants should be alarmed, or the Catholics deluded, by a full and fair consideration of the state of the laws affecting the latter body. Indeed, I cannot conceive any proceeding so likely to remove alarm and prevent delusion, as that which appears to you likely to create both. On the other hand, I apprehend much more danger, both of alarm and of delusion, from any system of measures to be founded on the general and indistinct terms in which you state that circumstances may arise, in which some alteration in the laws would be advisable.

"You refer to considerations of 'a very high importance,' which, until a very late period of time, have precluded the executive Government and Parliament from entertaining this measure; and you suggest, that, in the opinion of some persons, these considerations have not lost their weight.

"I presume that you refer to the sentiments of the most exalted and venerable authority in these realms, on the claims of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects.

"As your letter seems to bear some reference to the course of my conduct in Parliament, and in his Majesty's councils on this subject, I avail myself of the opportunity to explain the motives, both of my former silence and of the recent declaration of my sentiments.

At the remote period of the year 1797, upon the eve of departure for India, I stated to the late Mr. Pitt my solicitude that he should direct his attention to the settlement of Ireland; and I expressed to him my conviction that Ireland could neither be happily settled, nor firmly united to Great Britain, without a concurrent settlement of the claims of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. The opinions which I declared to Mr. Pitt, at that time, respecting the substance of those claims, were precisely similar to those which I have stated in the House of Lords during the present session of Parliament.

"It is not necessary to enter upon any review of the transactions which passed during my absence in India, with relation to Ireland, or to the claims of Roman Catholics.

"I arrived from India in the month of January 1806; and after one short interview with Mr. Pitt, I assisted in performing the last sad office of following his remains to the grave.

"You are aware that long before that period of time, the 'high considerations' to which you refer had been fixed in full force; that no attempt to change those sentiments could have been made with any prospect of success; and that the result even of a successful proceeding in Parliament, would have tended only to produce the most dreadful extremity of confusion. You must remember, that I have always lamented (as serious national calamities, menacing the constitution of the monarchy) the reference which has necessarily been made to the existence of those personal sentiments, and the causes which have occasioned that necessity.

"With the warmest sentiments of personal veneration, attachment, and gratitude, my opinion has always been, that the duty of loyalty and affection towards a British sovereign does not consist in submissive obedience, even to the honest prejudices or errors of the Royal mind, but rather in respectful endeavours to remove those prejudices and errors by free advice in council and by temperate remonstrance in Parliament.

"But the time for such endeavours had passed, and I submitted reluctantly, not to my sense of the genuine duty of a faithful counsellor towards his sovereign, but to the painful, and by me irreversible, necessity of the case.

"This is a subject of the utmost—of the most perilous delicacy :- your letter has opened it; I will pursue it no farther than to assure you, that when, on the 31st of January, I declared in the House of Lords my sentiments respecting the Roman Catholic claims, the necessity which had occasioned my silence appeared to me to have entirely ceased.

" The second point of your explanatory letter refers to the management of the war in the Peninsula.

" Your suggestions are necessarily indistinct, with regard to the additional means (which have occurred since my resignation) of extending our military efforts in that quarter. I think I can collect, even from your hints, that although those means are extraneous, the probability of their existence might have been foreseen as the natural result of instructions which were in progress of execution previous to my resignation.

" But my objection to the system pursued in the Peninsula at the time of my resignation, was applied to the whole frame and fabric of our permanent arrangements both in Portugal and Spain, which, in my judgment, must be corrected and extended, not only with a view to the advantageous use of such means as we now possess in the Peninsula, but even of such adventitious and extraneous means as events in other quarters may place at our disposal.

" Believe me, my dear lord, always yours most sincerely, (Signed) WELLESLEY."

" The Earl of Liverpool, &c."

Papers relative to the Negotiations of the Marquess Wellesley and the Earl of Moira,* for forming a New Administration.

(No. 1.)

Minute of Mr. Canning's Communication to the Earl of Liverpool, May 23rd.

"Fife House, May 23rd, 1812.

"The Prince Regent having laid his commands on Lord Wellesley to form a plan of an administration to be submitted for his Royal Highness's approbation, Mr. Canning was requested by Lord Wellesley (as the channel of communication thought likely to be most agreeable to Lord Liverpool) to inquire of Lord Liverpool, whether there would be a disposition on the part of Lord Liverpool, and of his Colleagues, or of any of them, to entertain any proposal which should be made to them for forming a part of such an administration.

"The principles upon which the administration was intended to be formed, were stated to be—

"First. The taking into the early and serious consideration of the executive Government the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, with a sincere and earnest desire to bring that important question to a final and satisfactory settlement.

"Secondly. The prosecution of the war in the Peninsula with the best means of the country. It was stated that there would be the strongest wish to comprehend in the arrangement, without any individual or party exclusion whatever, as many as possible of such persons as might be able to agree in giving their public service to the country, on these two principles. With respect to the distribution of offices, it was stated, that nothing of any sort was decided, or stipulated, but that everything would be open to be arranged to the honour and satisfaction of all parties."

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* Afterwards Marquess Hastings, Governor-General of India, A.D. 1813. His Lordship returned to England in the year 1823, having held the government of Fort Bengal for upwards of nine years.

(No. 2.)

Lord Liverpool's Letter to Mr. Canning, May 23rd.

"Fife House, May 23rd, 1812.

"My dear Canning,

"I have communicated to my colleagues the memorandum which I received from you this afternoon. They do not think it necessary to enter into any discussion of the principles stated in that memorandum, because they all feel themselves bound, particularly after what has recently passed, to decline the proposal of becoming members of an administration to be founded by Lord Wellesley. Believe me, &c. &c. Liverpool."

(No. 3.)

Lord Melville's Letter to Mr. Canning, May 23rd.

"Park Lane, May 23rd, 1812.

"Dear Canning,

"You will probably have received to-night from Lord Liverpool, the answer to the proposal which you left with him, and communicated to me this afternoon. Having stated to you my strong repugnance, or rather my decided objection, under present circumstances, to join an administration of which Lord Wellesley was to be the head, it might be sufficient for me to refer to Lord Liverpool's reply, more especially as I do not wish to enter into any detailed reasoning on a question relating to a matter of personal feeling. I think it due, however, to you, as well as to myself, to state distinctly, that I have no objection to act with an administration formed on the two principles mentioned in your memorandum; though I think it improbable that any consideration which the Government can give to the subject of the restrictions on the Roman Catholics will enable it to propose such a system as will wholly satisfy their claims, and at the same time afford that degree of security to the Protestant Establishment which is generally felt to be necessary. I remain, &c.,

"MELVILLE."

(No. 4.)

Minute of a Communication made by Lord Wellesley to Lords Grey and Grenville, at Lord Grey's house, May 23rd.

"Lord Wellesley stated, that he had received the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to lay before his Royal Highness the plan of such an administration as he (Lord Wellesley) might deem adapted to the present crisis of affairs.

That he had apprised his Royal Highness of the necessity of ascertaining the views and dispositions of all parties, with regard to certain general principles, previously to the formation of any such plan.

"That he considered himself merely as the instrument of executing his Royal Highness's commands on this occasion, and that he neither claimed, nor desired for himself, any station in the administration which it was his Royal Highness's contemplation to form.

"First, that the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, and the claims of that body of his Majesty's subjects, should be taken into immediate consideration, with a view to the conciliatory adjustment of those claims.

"Secondly, That the war in the Peninsula should be prosecuted on a scale of adequate vigour.

"Lord Wellesley stated, that as Mr. Canning and he agreed in these principles, he had requested Mr. Canning to communicate them to Lord Liverpool.

"Lord Wellesley has reduced the substance of this communication to writing, and now submits it to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, WELLESLEY."

(No. 5.)

Lord Moira's Letter to Lord Wellesley, dated, May 23rd, relative to No. 4.

"St. James's Place, May 23rd, 1812.

"MY LORD,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of the Minutes of the conversation which your Lordship held with Lords Grey and Grenville; and I feel much indebted for the communication accompanying them.

"The proposed consideration of the Catholic claims, and the adoption of a system of support to the Spaniards, such as may be really capable of producing a decisive result, are the two points of policy which I have long thought the most urgent for the benefit of the country. The question relative to the Orders in Council may be deemed as in effect settled by the evidence adduced before the two Houses; and the active correction of internal abuses must be confidently assumed as the object of such a ministry as is likely to be formed through your instrumentality. A plan of government, therefore, on the basis proposed by your Lordship, would have my most cordial wishes. Allow me to say, that this is not to convey any implication of engagement to accept office. This is not mentioned from the remotest regard to the possible distribution of situation, nor does it involve objections to any individual, as there is nothing I should so much deprecate in the present state of public affairs, as a spirit of exclusion. Indeed, the candour and delicacy manifested by your Lordship in these communications, are a perfect pledge that the details of arrangements could not but be entirely satisfactory. I have the honour, my Lord, to be, with high esteem, your Lordship's very obedient and humble servant, MOIRA."

(No. 6.)

Lord Lansdowne's Letter to Lord Wellesley, dated May 23rd, relative to No. 4.

"**Berkeley Square, Saturday night, May 23rd.**

"MY LORD,

"I am exceedingly sorry not to have been at home, when your Lordship did me the honour of calling at my house this morning, and am much obliged by the trouble you have taken in sending for my consideration a copy of the Minute of the communication made by your Lordship to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville.

"As Lord Grey and Lord Grenville thought proper to acquaint me confidentially with that communication, as well as the Minute of the answer they proposed to return to it; and as I generally concur in the sentiments they have there stated, I shall take the liberty of referring your Lordship to that paper, and shall only add there is no part of it in which I more cordially coincide with them, than in the expression of the gratification they have derived from your powerful exertions in support of the claims of the Roman Catholics, and from the manner in which that subject is adverted to in your Minute. I have the honour to remain, with great respect, your Lordship's very faithful, and most obedient servant,

"LANSDOWNE."

(No. 7.)

Lord Holland's Letter to Lord Wellesley, dated May 23rd, relative to No. 4.

"**Camelford House, May 23rd.**

"My Lord,

"I had the honour of receiving your note and enclosure, and beg leave to return my sincere thanks for your attention in sending me so interesting and so early a communication.

"Lord Grenville and Lord Grey have been so good as to talk the matter over with me confidentially, and I have the satisfaction of finding that I concur generally in their views of the subject, and, indeed, know no better way of expressing my opinion, than by referring you to a memorandum which, I believe, it is their intention to deliver tomorrow morning. I am, my Lord, your obliged and obedient humble servant,

"Vassal Holland."

(No. 8.)

Memorandum from Lords Grey and Grenville, May 24th, in reply to Lord Wellesley's Minute No. 4.

"**May 24th, 1812.**

"In such a moment as the present, we feel it to be the duty of all public men, both by frank and conciliatory explanations of principle, and by the total abandonment of every personal object, to facilitate, as far as may lie in their power, the means of giving effect to the late vote of the House of Commons, and of averting the imminent and unparalleled dangers of the country. Lord Wellesley has selected two among the many important subjects which must engage the attention of any man, who could, in such circumstances, be called upon to consider of the acceptance of stations in public trust. On those two points, our explanation shall be as distinct as it is in our power to make it.

"On the first, indeed, our opinion is too well known, and has been too recently expressed, to need repetition.

"We have derived a very high gratification from Lord Wellesley's powerful exertions in support of the claims of the Roman Catholics, as well as from the manner in which that subject is adverted to in his Minute; and we do not hesitate to assure him, that we will warmly support any proposal made by any ministers for the immediate consideration of those claims, with a view to their conciliatory adjustment; a measure without which, we have already declared that we can entertain no hope, in any case, of rendering our own services useful.

"As to the second point, no person feels more strongly than we do, the advantages which would result from a successful termination of the present contest in Spain. But we are of opinion that the direction of military operations in an extensive war, and the more and less vigorous prosecution of those operations, are questions, not of principle, but of policy: to be regulated by circumstances, in their nature temporary and fluctuating, and in many cases known only to persons in official stations, by the engagements of the country, the prospect of ultimate success, the extent of the exertions necessary for its attainment, and the means of supporting those effects without too great a pressure on the finances and internal prosperity of the country.

"On such questions, therefore, no public men, either in or out of office, can undertake for more than a deliberate and dispassionate consideration, according to the circumstances of the case as it may appear, and to such means of information as may then be within their reach.

"But we cannot in sincerity conceal from Lord Wellesley, that in the present state of finances, we entertain the strongest doubts of the practicability of an increase in any branch of the public expenditure."

(No. 9.)

Lord Wellesley to Lord Grey, dated, May 27th, communicating the Termination of Lord Wellesley's Commission.

"Apsley House, May 27th, 1812, one o'clock, P.M.

"MY LORD,

"I take the earliest opportunity of communicating the enclosed papers to your Lordship. The paper enclosed (No. 11) has not reached me until within this hour. It appeared to me to be important that the intelligence which it contains should be conveyed to your Lordship, to Lord Grenville, and to your respective friends, as soon as may be practicable.

"I shall be happy to have an opportunity of stating to your Lordship, and to Lord Grenville, at any time that you may appoint, the whole course of my conduct since I had the honour of seeing you. I have the honour to be, with great respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and faithful servant,

"WELLESLEY."

"I shall remain at home some time, and shall be happy to see your Lordship and Lord Grenville, if it should be convenient.

(No. 10.)

Mr. Canning's Statement to Lord Melville enclosed in No. 9.

"Park Lane, May 26th, 1812.

"Lord Melville having stated to Mr. Canning that the Ministers, his colleagues, were considering, under the special command of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, how far they could advance to meet the first of the two propositions laid down as the basis of the administration proposed to be formed by Lord Wellesley, Mr. Canning feels it necessary, before he offers any observation on that statement, to inquire in what situation Lord Melville's colleagues consider themselves as standing at the present moment.

"1st. Do they consider Lord Wellesley's commission at an end, and the former administration as re-established?

"2nd. Are the discussions which are now going on among them directed to the ascertaining the possibility of the individual members of that administration, or any of them, acceding to an administration to be formed by Lord Wellesley, or to some proposal to be made by them as a government to Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning?

"If Lord Wellesley's commission is considered at an end, it is essential to Lord Wellesley's honour that the fact should be publicly known. He has entered upon communications, which he could not terminate at the point to which they were brought, without distinctly stating his commission to be at an end.

"If what is now in contemplation is some new proposal to be made to Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning from the former administration revived, then the revival of that administration ought to be made matter of notoriety; and the proposal itself must be distinctly stated before Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning can form any judgment upon it."

(No. 11.)

Lord Melville's Communication to Mr. Canning enclosed in No. 9.

"Gloucester Lodge, May 27th, 1812, 10 A.M.

"Lord Melville called upon Mr. Canning, and informed him, in answer to the questions which Mr. Canning put to Lord Melville yesterday,—

"1st. That Lord Wellesley's commission is considered by the Prince Regent at an end.

"2nd. That the persons now holding offices, hold them only until their successors shall be appointed.

"Lord Melville had understood Mr. Canning yesterday to say, that Lord Wellesley was of opinion that his commission was at an end; but that he (Mr. Canning) doubted it. This was a mistake. What Mr. Canning stated was, that Lord Wellesley was in doubt as to the Prince Regent's intention, and that he (Mr. Canning) had no means of forming any opinion upon it.

(No. 12.)

Letter of Lord Grey to Lord Wellesley.

"Portman Square, May 27th, 1812,

"My Lord,

"I have the honour of returning the papers which your Lordship was so good as to put into my hands this morning. I observe a material difference between the terms in which the two principles proposed as the basis of a new administration are stated in Mr. Canning's minute, and in that sent to Lord Grenville and me by your Lordship. I think it necessary to call your Lordship's attention to this circumstance, because if these discussions should proceed further, it may become of the utmost importance. I am, with the highest regard, my Lord, your Lordship's very faithful and humble servant. (Signed) Grey."

"The Marquess Wellesley."

(No. 13.)

Letter of Lord Wellesley to Lord Grey.

"Apsley House, May 28th 1812,

"My Lord,

"I should have returned an earlier acknowledgment of the honour of your Lordship's letter of yesterday, had I not thought it necessary to see Mr. Canning before I troubled your Lordship with an answer to your observations on our respective minutes.

"Having carefully examined those papers, and compared them with our views of the points to which they refer, we have drawn the enclosed paper for your Lordship's information, and have authenticated it by our respective signatures. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, my Lord, your Lordship's faithful, humble servant,

(Signed) "Wellesley."

"The Earl Grey."

(No. 14.)

Paper signed by Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning.

"The variance in point of phrase in the two propositions as stated by Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning in their minutes of conference arises from this circumstance, that Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning went to their respective conferences without having thought it necessary, previously, to reduce into a written form the communications which they were to make, being in full possession of each other's sentiments upon the subject of them.

"The two minutes were written by them as containing the substance of their respective communications; that of Mr. Canning in Lord Liverpool's presence; that of Lord Wellesley immediately after his return from Lord Grey.

"There does not appear to Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning to be any substantial variance in the first proposition.

"The word 'early,' in Mr. Canning's minute, might be exchanged for the word 'immediate,' used by Lord Wellesley, without in any degree altering the sense; as with a motion actually pending in the House of Commons, which (but for the events that have recently taken place) would have come on this very day, the object of which was to compel the executive Government to take the subject of the Catholic question into consideration, it cannot be necessary to say that Mr. Canning has no wish to defer that consideration. On the other hand, consideration by the executive Government is the object which it is Lord Wellesley's intention to recommend: nor does he conceive any further parliamentary proceeding to be necessary or practicable this session than such as might be sufficient to insure, either by compulsion upon a hostile administration, or by pledge from a friendly one, the consideration of the question during the recess with a view to its being brought before Parliament, by the recommendation of the Crown, early in the ensuing session.

"A committee to inquire into the state of the laws has been already negatived in both Houses this session.

"A 'conciliatory adjustment' of the claims of the Irish Catholics is the object which Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning have equally at heart; and it enters into both their views, that to be 'conciliatory,' that adjustment must be so formed as to embrace the interests and opinions of the English Catholics,—also to obtain the enlightened and deliberate consent of the Protestants of both countries. They would think any adjustment very imperfect, which, instead of extinguishing discontent, only transferred it from the Catholic to the Protestant.

"But they concur in entertaining a confident belief, that the great purpose for securing the peace of the empire may be answered, not by giving a triumph to any one party, but by reconciling all.

"In the substance of the second proposition, there is no variance as to any practical and prospective purpose; though undoubtedly there is, and it is natural there should be, some as to the past, arising from the difference of Mr. Canning's and Lord Wellesley's respective situations.

"When Mr. Canning says, that the Peninsula war is to be carried on 'with the best means of the country,' he intends the greatest scale of exertion which the means of the country may be found capable of sustaining.

"If Lord Wellesley's expression, 'a scale of adequate vigour,' may be construed to imply the proposition that the late exertions of this country have not been proportioned to the great object of the war, or have not been duly distributed or apportioned, this proposition Mr. Canning certainly does not intend either to affirm or to deny; simply because, not having been in the Government during the last two years, he has not sufficient information to be able to pronounce an opinion whether the exertions of those two years have or have not been below the proper scale, or have been well or ill administered; nor how far they may now admit of being extended or more judiciously applied.

"He concurs, however, entirely with Lord Wellesley, in wishing to extend them to the utmost power of the country; and to apply them in the manner best calculated to answer their end.

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."
"GEORGE CANNING."

(No. 15.)

Letter from Lord Grey to Lord Wellesley.

"Portman Square, May 29th, 1812.

"MY LORD,

"I had last night the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter, enclosing a paper explanatory of the difference which I had remarked between your Lordship's minute and Mr. Canning's, together with a copy of the latter.

"I beg your Lordship to be assured that in the observation to which I had thought it necessary to call your Lordship's attention, I could have no object but that of preventing the possibility of any further misunderstanding. We had not entered into any explanation, which, under the circumstances of the moment, would perhaps have been premature, of the details of conduct necessary to give effect to the first of the propositions, offered by your Lordship as the basis of a new administration. From the difference of the terms used by Mr. Canning in stating that proposition, I was apprehensive that it might be his opinion, in concurrence with your Lordship's, that no parliamentary proceeding with reference to the claims of the Catholics, should take place during the present session. To such an opinion I could not have assented; and I felt it to be due both to your Lordship and Mr. Canning, immediately to draw your attention to a point on which it was so desirable that there should be a clear understanding between us.

"I hope it is unnecessary for me to state, that I can look at the situation of the Catholics (both Irish and English) with no other view than that of the public interest, and that nothing can be further from my disposition, or my intention, in a matter of such preëminent importance, than to give to any one party a triumph at the expense of another. But I do not conceive that the repeal of the disabilities of which the Catholics complain, can give any just cause for discontent to their Protestant fellow-subjects; and I am strongly of opinion, that the efficacy of that measure must in a great degree depend on its being carried into effect with the least possible delay, and with the clearest demonstrations of a conciliatory and confiding spirit. Under this impression I should very reluctantly abandon the hope of passing a bill for such repeal, even during the present session; but if this cannot be done, I hold it to be indispensable, that the most distinct and authentic pledge should be given of the intention, both of the executive Government and of Parliament, to take this matter up as one of the first measures of the next. To a proceeding of this nature, from the paper signed by your Lordship and Mr. Canning, I am led to hope you would not be adverse.

"As to the second proposition, the difference which I had observed was much less important. It is impossible to reduce a question of this nature to any fixed principle. Whatever we can say with our present means of information, must necessarily be general and inconclusive, the whole subject being left open to future consideration and decision. I can have no hesitation in subscribing to the proposition, that if it shall be found expedient to continue the exertions we are now making in the Peninsula, they should be conducted in the manner best calculated to answer their end.

"I fear I have troubled your Lordship much more than is necessary under the circumstances of our present situation; and will only add, that if we should be called upon to pursue these considerations in their practical details, it will be my most anxious wish, that no difference of opinion may be found to exist between us, respecting the conduct to be adopted by a Government equally solicitous for the internal peace and harmony of the empire, and for the prosecution of military operations in such a mode as may appear most conducive to our ultimate security. Lord Grenville, to whom I have communicated your

Lordship's letter, and its enclosures, desires me to express his cordial concurrence in this wish. I have the honour to be, with the highest regard, my Lord, your Lordship's very faithful humble servant.

(Signed) "GREY."

(No. 16.)

Lord Wellesley's Reply to Lord Grey, May 29th 1812.

"Apsley House, May 29, 1812.

"MY LORD,

"I request your Lordship to accept my sincere thanks for your letter of this day's date. In the actual state of affairs it might be deemed premature to enter into any more particular discussions than those already submitted to your Lordship on the points to which you have adverted with so much perspicuity, ability, and candour.

"But I cannot omit the opportunity of assuring your Lordship that I have derived from the sentiments so justly expressed in your letter, a firm expectation that if the advice which I have humbly offered to the Prince Regent should be ultimately approved, a happy prospect will open to the country of recovering internal peace, and of prosecuting the war with success, under an administration worthy of the confidence of the Prince, and of the people, and equal to the arduous charge of public affairs amidst all the dangers of the present crisis. I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant.

"WELLESLEY."

(No. 17.)

Minute of a Communication made by Lord Wellesley to Lord Grey, at Lord Grey's house. June 1st, 1812.

"Lord Wellesley stated, that he had, on that morning, received full authority from the Prince Regent to form an administration under his Royal Highness's commands; and that he was specially authorised to communicate with Lords Grey and Grenville on the subject.

"That his Royal Highness entertained no wish to exclude from the proposed administration any person, or description of persons, who could unite in the principles on which the administration was to be founded. That the two propositions stated in Lord Wellesley's minute of May 23rd, and subsequently explained in the letters which had passed between Lord Wellesley and Lord Grey, of the dates of the 27th, 28th, and 29th of May, 1812, were intended by his Royal Highness to constitute the foundation of his administration.

"That his Royal Highness had signified his pleasure, that Lord Wellesley should conduct the formation of the administration in all its branches, and should be First Commissioner of the Treasury; and that Lord Moira, Lord Erskine, and Mr. Canning, should be members of the Cabinet.

"That it was probable that a cabinet formed on an enlarged basis must be extended to the number of twelve or thirteen members; that the Prince

Regent wished Lords Grey and Grenville, on the part of their friends, to recommend for his Royal Highness's approbation the names of four persons if the cabinet should consist of twelve, and of five persons if the cabinet should consist of thirteen, to be appointed by his Royal Highness to fill such stations in his councils as might hereafter be arranged.

"That his Royal Highness left the selection of the names to Lords Grey and Grenville, without any exception or personal exclusion. That in completing the new arrangement the Prince Regent has granted to Lord Wellesley entire liberty to propose, for his Royal Highness's approbation, the names of any persons now occupying stations in his Royal Highness's councils, or of any other persons.

"That if the propositions made to Lords Grey and Grenville should be accepted as the outline of an arrangement, all other matters would be discussed with the most anxious solicitude to promote harmony and general accommodation. WELLESLEY."

(No. 18.)

Lord Grey to Lord Wellesley, dated June 2nd, on the subject of No. 17.

"Camelford House, 2nd June, 1812.

"MY LORD,

"I lost no time in sending for Lord Grenville, and have communicated to him, since his arrival, the proposal made to me yesterday by your Lordship.

"We have felt the necessity of a further communication with our friends, and this I fear will make it impossible for us to send our final answer to the minute which I had the honour of receiving from your Lordship yesterday evening, till a late hour to-night, or early to-morrow morning.

"To obviate, however, as far as I can, any inconvenience which might arise from this delay, I think it right to state to your Lordship, that the feeling which I yesterday expressed to you, as to the nature of the proposal which you were authorised by the Prince Regent to make to Lord Grenville and me, had been confirmed by subsequent reflection, as well as by the opinion of Lord Grenville, and indeed of every person with whom I have hitherto had an opportunity of consulting. I have the honour to be, with the highest regard, my Lord, your Lordship's very faithful, humble servant, GREY."

(No. 19.)

Letters from Lords Grey and Grenville to Lord Wellesley.

"Camelford House, June 3, 1812.

MY LORD,

"We have considered with the most serious attention the Minute which we have had the honour to receive from your Lordship, and we have communicated it to such of our friends as we have had the opportunity of consulting.

"On the occasion of a proposal made to us, under the authority of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, we wish to renew, in the most solemn manner, the declaration of our unfeigned desire to have facilitated, as far as was in our power, the means of giving effect to the late vote of the House of Commons, and of averting the imminent and unparalleled dangers of the country. No sense of the public distress and difficulty,—no personal feelings of whatever description, would have prevented us, under such circumstances, from accepting, with dutiful submission, any situations in which we could have helped to serve his Royal Highness usefully and honourably: but it appears to us, on the most dispassionate reflection, that the proposal stated by your Lordship cannot justify any such expectations.

" We are invited, not to discuss with your Lordship, or with any other public men, according to the usual practice in such cases, the various and important considerations, both of measures and of arrangements, which belong to the formation of a new government in all its branches, but to recommend to his Royal Highness a number, limited by previous stipulation, of persons willing to be included in a cabinet, of which the outlines are already definitely arranged.

To this proposal we could not accede without the sacrifice of the very object which the House of Commons has recommended, the formation of a strong and efficient administration. We enter not into the examination of the relative proportions, or of the particular arrangements, which it has been judged necessary thus previously to establish. It is to the principle of disunion and jealousy that we object; to the supposed balance of contending interests, in a cabinet so measured out by preliminary stipulation. The times imperiously require an administration united in principle, and strong in mutual reliance: possessing also the confidence of the Crown, and assured of its support in those healing measures which the public safety requires, and which are necessary to secure to the government the opinion and affections of the people.

No such hope is presented to us by the project, which appears to us equally new in practice and objectionable in principle. It tends, as we think, to establish within the Cabinet itself a system of counteraction inconsistent with the prosecution of any uniform and beneficial course of policy. We must, therefore, request permission to decline all participation in a government constituted upon such principles; satisfied as we are, that the certain loss of character, which must arise from it to ourselves, could be productive only of disunion and weakness in the administration of the public interests. We have the honour to be, with great respect, &c.

(Signed) "GREY.
(Signed) "GRENVILLE."

(No. 20.)

Explanatory Letter from Lord Moira to Lord Grey, June 3rd, on the subject of Lord Wellesley's Minute, No. 17.

"June 3, 1812.

" MY DEAR LORD,

"The answer which you and Lord Grenville have returned to the proposal made by Lord Wellesley, seems to throw an oblique imputation upon me; therefore I entreat your reconsideration of your statement, as far as it may convey that impeachment of a procedure in which I was involved. You represent the proposition for an arrangement submitted to you as one calculated to found a cabinet upon a principle of counteraction. When the most material of the public objects, which were to be the immediate ground of that cabinet's exertion, had been previously understood between the parties, I own it is difficult for me to comprehend what principle of counteraction could be introduced. If there be any ambiguity, which does not strike me in Lord Wellesley's last paper, surely the construction ought to be sought in the antecedent communication; and I think the basis on which that communication had announced the intended cabinet to stand, was perfectly clear. With regard to the indication of certain individuals, I can assert that it was a measure adopted through the highest spirit of fairness to you and your friends.

Mr. Canning's name was mentioned because Lord Wellesley would have declined office without him, and it was a frankness to apprise you of it; and Lord Erskine's and mine were stated with a view of showing that Lord Wellesley, so far from having any jealousy to maintain a preponderance in the cabinet, actually left a majority to those who had been accustomed to concur upon most public questions; and he specified Lord Erskine and myself, that you might see the number submitted for your exclusive nomination was not narrowed by the necessity of advertence to us. The choice of an additional number of the cabinet left to you, must prove how undistinguishable we consider our interests and yours, when this was referred to your consideration as a mere matter of convenience, the embarrassment of a numerous cabinet being well-known; the reference to members of the late Cabinet, or other persons, was always to be coupled with the established point, that they were such as could concur in the principles laid down as the foundation for the projected ministry: and the statement was principally dictated by the wish to show that no system of exclusion could interfere with the arrangements which the public service might demand. On the selection of those persons, I aver the opinions of you, Lord Grenville, and the others, whom you might bring forward as members of the cabinet, were to operate as fully as our own, and this was to be the case also with regard to subordinate offices. The expression that this was left to be proposed by Lord Wellesley, was intended to prove that his Royal Highness did not even, in the most indirect manner, suggest any one of those individuals.

"It is really impossible that the spirit of fairness can have been carried further than has been the intention in this negotiation. I therefore lament most deeply that an arrangement so important for the interests of the country should go off upon points which I cannot but think wide of the substance of the case. (Signed) MOIRA."

(No. 21.)

Lord Wellesley to Lord Moira, approving Lord Moira's letter (No. 20) *to Lord Grey of the 3rd of June.*

"Apsley House, June 3rd, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I return the copy of your Lordship's letter to Lord Grey. This communication to Lord Grey is most useful, and the substance of it is admirably judicious, clear, and correct.

"My declaration this day in the House of Lords was indispensably necessary to my public and private honour, both of which would have been involved, if I had not, in full Parliament, announced that I had resigned the commission with which his Royal Highness had charged me. Believe me, &c.,

"WELLESLEY."

(No. 22.)

Lord Grey's Reply to Lord Moira's Letter (No. 20) *of the 3rd of June.*

"Portman-square, 4th of June, 1812.

"My dear Lord,

"Being obliged to go immediately from the House of Lords to a dinner-party, and afterwards to meeting at Lord Grenville's, which occupied me till a late hour, it was not in my power to answer your letter last night.

"You must be too well aware of my personal feelings towards you, of my esteem for your character, and of my confidence in your honour, to entertain any opinion respecting your conduct inconsistent with those sentiments. Nothing therefore could be more remote from my intention,—and I am desired by Lord Grenville, to whom I have shown your letter, to give you the same assurance on his part—than to cast any imputation whatever on you, as to the part you have borne in the proceedings which have lately taken place for the formation of a new administration. We know with how sincere an anxiety for the honour of the Prince, and for the public interest, you have laboured to effect that object.

"Whatsoever objections we may feel, therefore, to the proposal which has been made to us, we beg they may be understood as having no reference whatever to any part of your conduct. That proposal was made to us in a formal and authorised communication from Lord Wellesley, both personally to me, and afterwards in a written minute. It appeared to us to be founded on a principle to which we could not assent, consistently with our honour, and with a due sense of public duty. The grounds of this opinion have been distinctly stated in our joint letter to Lord Wellesley; nor can they be altered by a private explanation, which, though it might lessen some obvious objections to a part of the detail, still leaves the general character of the proceeding unchanged. Nothing could be more painful to me than to enter into anything like a controversial discussion with you, in which I could only repeat more at large the same feelings and opinions which, in concurrence with Lord Grenville, I have already expressed in our formal answer. I beg only to assure you, before I conclude, that I have felt very sensibly, and shall always have a pleasure in acknowledging, your personal kindness to me in the course of this transaction. I am, with every sentiment of true respect and affection, my dear lord, yours most faithfully,

"GREY."

(No. 23.)

Lord Wellesley's reply to the Letter (No. 19) *from Lords Grey and Grenville, of the 3rd of June.*

"Apsley House, June 3rd, 1812.

"MY LORDS,

"I received the letter by which I was honoured from your Lordships this morning, with the most sincere regret, and I have discharged the painful duty of submitting it to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

It would have afforded me some consolation if the continuance of the authority confided in me by his Royal Highness had enabled me, under his Royal Highness's commands, to offer to your Lordships a full and candid explanation of those points in my minute of the 1st of June, which your Lordships appear to me to have entirely misapprehended. But as his Royal Highness has been pleased to intimate to me his pleasure that the formation of a new administration should be entrusted to other hands, I have requested permission to decline all further concern in this transaction.

"I remain, however, extremely anxious to submit to your Lordships some explanatory observations respecting the communications which I have had the honour to make to you; and I trust that your Lordships will indulge me with that advantage, although I can no longer address you under the sanction of the Prince Regent's authority.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect, my Lords, your most faithful and obedient servant,

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

(No. 24.)

Lord Wellesley to Lord Grey on the same subject, dated 4th June.

"Apsley House, June 4th, 1812.

"MY LORD.

"When I applied yesterday to your Lordship and Lord Grenville for permission to submit to you some explanatory observations respecting the communications which I have had the honour to make to you by the authority of the Prince Regent, I was not aware that Lord Moira had addressed a letter to your Lordship of the same nature as that which I was desirous of conveying to you. The form of such a letter, either from Lord Moira or me, must have been private, as neither of us possessed any authority from the Prince Regent to open any further communication with your Lordship, or with Lord Grenville,—a circumstance which I deeply lament, under a sanguine hope that additional explanations, sanctioned by authority, might have removed the existing obstacles to an amicable arrangement.

"Lord Moira has sent me a copy of his letter (No. 20) to your Lordship, of yesterday's date; and as it contains an accurate, clear, and candid statement of the real objects of the proposal which I conveyed to you, it appears to me to have furnished you with as full an explanation as can be given in an unauthorised paper. Under these circumstances it might be deemed superfluous trouble to your Lordship, and to Lord Grenville, to solicit your attention to a private letter from me; although I should be most happy if any opportunity were afforded of renewing a conciliatory intercourse, under the commands of the Prince Regent, with a view to attain the object of our recent communications. I have the honour to be, with great respect, my Lord, your Lordships' most faithful and humble servant, WELLESLEY."

(No. 25.)

Lord Grey's reply to Lord Wellesley's Letter, (No. 24.)

" Portman-square, June 4th, 1812.

" My Lord,

" I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter of this day's date.

" As Lord Moira has communicated to your Lordship the copy of his letter to me, I take it for granted that you have in the same manner been put in possession of my answer, which contains all that I can say with respect to the explanation of the proposal made by your Lordship to Lord Grenville and myself.

" I was perfectly aware that Lord Moira's letter could in no degree be considered as an authorised communication, but that it was simply a private explanation offered for the purpose of removing the objections which had been stated by Lord Grenville and me to the proposal contained in the written minute transmitted to us by your Lordship, under the authority of the Prince Regent. But though it could not vary the effect of that minute in my opinion, I was happy to receive it as an expression of personal regard, and of that desire which we readily acknowledge both in your Lordship and Lord Moira, and which is reciprocal on the part of Lord Grenville and myself, that no difference of opinion on the matter in question should produce on either side any personal impression which might obstruct the renewal of a conciliatory intercourse whenever a more favourable opportunity shall be afforded for it. I have the honour to be, with the highest regard, my Lord, your Lordship's very faithful, humble servant,

(Signed) "GREY."

(No. 26.)

Lord Moira to Lords Grey and Grenville, proposing an interview; 5th June.

"Lord Moira presents his best compliments to Earl Grey. Since Lord Wellesley declared his commission from the Prince Regent to be at an end, Lord Moira (as being honoured with his Royal Highness's confidence) ventures to indulge the anxiety he feels, that an arrangement of the utmost importance for the interest of the country should not go off on any misunderstanding.

"He therefore entreats Lord Grey and Lord Grenville to advert to the explanatory letter (No. 20) of the 3rd of June, written by him to the former: and if the dispositions therein expressed shall appear to them likely to lead, upon conference, to any advantageous result towards coöperation in the Prince's service, he will be happy to have an interview with them.

"Should the issue of that conversation prove such as he would hope, his object would be to solicit the Prince Regent's permission to address them formally. He adopts this mode to preclude all difficulties in the outset.

"Let him be permitted to remark, that the very urgent pressure of public affairs renders the most speedy determination infinitely desirable.

"N.B. This was written in the presence of the Duke of Bedford, in conversation with his Grace; and was by him carried to Lord Grey.

(No. 27.)

Note from Lords Grey and Grenville declining unauthorized discussions.

"House of Lords, June 5, 1812.

"We cannot but feel highly gratified by the kindness of the motive on which Lord Moira acts. Personal communication with him will always be acceptable and honourable to us: but we hope he will be sensible that no advantage is likely to result from pursuing this subject by unauthorized discussions, and in a course different from the usual practice.

"Motives of obvious delicacy must prevent our taking any step towards determining the Prince Regent to authorise Lord Moira to address us personally. We shall always receive with dutiful submission his Royal Highness's commands, in whatever channel he may be pleased to signify them; and we trust we shall never be found wanting in zeal for his Royal Highness's service, and for the public interests: but we cannot venture to suggest to his Royal Highness, through any other person, our opinions on points in which his Royal Highness is not pleased to require our advice. (Signed) "GREY.

"GRENVILLE."

(No. 28.)

Lord Moira to Lords Grey and Grenville, informing them that he has the Prince Regent's authority to address them, and requesting to know when and where he can see them.

June 6th, 1812. Eleven forenoon.

"Lord Moira presents his best compliments to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville.

"Discouraged, as he unavoidably must be, he yet cannot reconcile it to himself to leave any effort untried; and he adopts their principle for an interview, though he doubts if the desired conclusion is likely to be so well advanced by it, as it would have been by the course suggested by him.

"He has now the Prince Regent's instructions to take steps towards the formation of a Ministry; and is authorised specially to address himself to Lords Grey and Grenville. It is therefore his request to know when and where he can wait upon them. He would wish to bring Lord Erskine with him.

(No. 29.)

Minute of a Conversation between Lord Moira and Lords Grey and Grenville, at which Lord Erskine was present.

"St. James's Place, June 6, 1812.

"Lord Moira stated to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville that he was authorised by the Prince Regent to consult with them on the formation of a new government. And, satisfactory explanations having taken place between them, respecting such measures as appeared to be of the greatest urgency at the present moment, more especially with reference to the situation of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, and the differences now unhappily subsisting with America; and that Lord Moira had received this commission without any restriction or limitation whatever being laid by the Prince on their considering any points which they judged useful for his service; they expressed their satisfaction with the fairness of this proposal, and their readiness to enter into such discussions as must precede the details of any new arrangement. As a preliminary question, which appeared to them of great importance, and which they thought it necessary immediately to bring forward, to prevent the inconvenience and embarrassment of the further delay which might be produced, if this negotiation should break off in a more advanced state, —They asked, 'Whether this full liberty extended to the consideration of new appointments to those great offices of the household, which have been usually included in the political arrangements made on a change of administration?—intimating their opinion that it would be necessary to act on the same principle on the present occasion.'

"Lord Moira answered 'That the Prince had laid no restriction upon him in that respect, and had never pointed, in the most distant manner, at the protection of those officers from removal; that it would be impossible for him (Lord Moira), however, to concur in making the exercise of this power positive and indispensable, in the formation of the administration, because he should deem it on public grounds peculiarly objectionable.'

"To this Lord Grey and Lord Grenville replied, they also acted on public grounds alone, and with no other feeling whatever than that which arose from the necessity of giving to a new government that character of efficiency and stability, and those marks of the constitutional support of the Crown which were required to enable it to act usefully for the public service; and that on these grounds it appeared to them indispensable that the connection of the great offices of the court with the political administration, should be clearly established in its first arrangements.

"A decided difference of opinion as to this point having been thus expressed on both sides, the conversation ended here with mutual declarations of regret.

"Nothing was said on the subject of official arrangements, nor any persons proposed on either side, to fill any particular situation."

Two Letters (which passed between Lords Moira and Grey), subjoined for the purpose of throwing light on the ground of part of these transactions.

(Copy, B.)

"May 31st, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"A just anxiety not to leave anything subject to misunderstanding, must excuse me if I am trouble-some to you. Since I quitted you, the necessity of being precise in terms, has occurred to me: and although I think I cannot have mistaken you, I wish to know if I am accurate in what I apprehend you to have said. I understood the position stated by you as having been what you advanced in the House of Lords to be this, 'That pledges had been given to the Catholics, a departure from which rendered their present disappointment more galling; and that you said this in the hearing of persons who could contradict you if you were inaccurate.' Just say whether I have taken your expression correctly or not, Believe, &c.,

"MOIRA."

(C.)

"Holland House, May 31st, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I cannot sufficiently thank you for your kind anxiety to procure an accurate statement of the words spoken by me in the House of Lords. It is difficult to remember precise expressions so long after they were spoken; but I am sure I cannot be far wrong in stating the substance of what I said as follows:

"I was speaking on the subject of the Irish Catholics, and particularly on the charge of intemperate conduct which had been made against them. I stated, that great allowances were to be made for this, considering their repeated disappointments; and I cited, as instances of these, the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the Union. I then said, that the most distinct and authentic pledges had been given to them of the Prince's wish to relieve them from the disabilities of which they complained; that I spoke in the hearing of the persons who would contradict me if what I said was unfounded, and who would, I was sure, support its truth if questioned; that now when the fulfilment of these pledges was confidently expected, to see an Administration continued in power, which stood on the express principles of resisting their claims, was perhaps the bitterest disappointment they had yet experienced, and that it was not surprising if, under such circumstances, they felt and acted in a way that all well-wishers to the peace of the empire must regret.

"This I give, as the substance, and by no means as a correct repetition, of the particular expressions used by me, and this statement I can neither retract, nor endeavour to explain away. If in consequence of it, the Prince feels a strong personal objection to me, I can only repeat what I have already said to you, that I am perfectly ready to stand out of the way; that my friends shall have my full concurrence and approbation in taking office without me, and my most cordial support in the government of the country, if their measures are directed, as I am sure they must always be, by the principles on which we have acted together.

"I write this from Lord Holland's in a great hurry, and in the middle of dinner; but I was unwilling to defer, even for a minute, to answer an inquiry which I feel to be prompted by so friendly a solicitude for me. I have not the means of taking a copy of this letter; I shall therefore be obliged to you to let me have one: and I am sure, if upon recollection I shall think it necessary to add anything to what I have now said, you will allow me an opportunity of doing so. I am, with the sincerest regard, my dear Lord, yours very faithfully, GREY."

The negotiations detailed in the foregoing correspondence, gave rise to lengthened explanations in both Houses of Parliament. Lord Wellesley declared that they had failed, in consequence of "the most dreadful personal animosities, and the most terrible difficulties arising out of questions the most complicated and important." Being called on to explain what he meant by the expressions "dreadful personal animosities," his Lordship declared that he had used those expressions *advisedly* with reference to the Earl of Liverpool and his colleagues, from whom only the obstacles to which he had alluded, had arisen. The result of the whole was, that the Earl of Liverpool was retained in the post of Prime Minister, (to which he had been elevated by chance,) and though he possessed no eminent qualities to distinguish him as a statesman, he remained at the helm till 1827, when his public life was terminated by a stroke of apoplexy.*

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* Lord Liverpool died December 4th, 1828.

CHAPTER XII.

Disabilities on the Profession of the Roman Catholic Religion.—Inconsistent with Justice and the Rights of Conscience.—The Controversy virtually decided in 1812.—The Truth and Justice of the Catholic Claims then incontestably proved.—Great Efforts of the Friends of Religious Freedom in Parliament.—Earl Fitzwilliam's Motion.—Defeated in the Lords.—Lord Morpeth's Motion in the House of Commons.—Defeated.—Earl of Donoughmore moves for a Committee.—Admirable Speech of the Duke of Sussex.—Motion defeated.—Mr. Grattan brings the Question before the House of Commons.—Is supported by Canning, Brougham, Romilly, &c.—Mr. Grattan's Motion defeated.—Canning once more brings on the Catholic Question, and the Motion is carried by a large Majority.—High Hopes of the Catholics, and the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty.—The Marquess Wellesley brings forward a similar Motion in the House of Lords.—It is defeated by a Majority of *One*; Five Royal Dukes having Voted—Quotations from Lord Wellesley's Speech.—Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Shiel now take the lead of the Irish Catholics.—Notice of the Literary and Parliamentary Advocates of this Cause.—The Controversy happily ended.

THE laws attaching civil disabilities to the profession of the Roman Catholic religion viewed impartially in the light of history will appear rather as the productions of a barbarous age, than of a country boasting its arts, refinement, and attainments in letters, philosophy, and political liberty. Yet so fatal an influence has prejudice in darkening the mind, and exacerbating the affections, that several men, who we cannot deny were able, wise, and virtuous in their general character, were found among the supporters of the penal code;—

falling into the very illogical error of holding the professors of the Roman Catholic religion, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, responsible not only for the dogmas of schoolmen in ages and nations uncongenial to light and human liberty, but for the atrocities which had been perpetrated in past times by members of that body; although these rude and illiberal doctrines had again and again been publicly and solemnly abjured, and those excesses had been condemned in the same category with every act, provocative or retaliatory, of a kindred character.

If we consider these restrictions, they will appear to be at variance with liberty of conscience and every principle of justice,—with the right to worship God without let or hinderance, or the fear of man—a *sacred* and *inalienable* right of all mankind. They were fetters upon the freedom of the human mind, forged by persons claiming for themselves the right of private judgment. Such is the inconsistency of human nature. Even our glorious and enlightened Milton—one of the apostles of civil liberty—while he exclaimed "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and argue, and freely, according to conscience, above all other liberties," denied even toleration to Papists!

The civil disabilities of Roman Catholics were impolitic, because they tended to alienate and denationalize a large body whose allegiance was essential to the stability of the state, and because they kept alive dissensions which embittered social life, and endangered the peace of the kingdom.

They were inconsistent, because while the British Government refused to treat as citizens men who, it was admitted, held many of the great essentials of the faith common to all Christians, the followers of Mohammed, the disciples of Vishnu and Zoroaster, the worshippers of the idol Juggernaut were caressed by the same Government in India, and the tenderest regard was paid, not only to their rights, but to their prejudices, superstitions, and even their revolting customs! What heightened the inconsistency was, that the religion, the profession of which was thus made penal, had been the creed of their forefathers, to whom we are indebted for so many of our most cherished laws and institutions! Besides, at the very moment that our Percevals, Liverpools, Eldons, Sidmouths, and Castlereaghs were refusing to accede to the prayers of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, they were sustaining the Pope in his chair by British arms, and were affording refuge to every priest of the Roman Catholic Church who fled hither from the Continent!

No Catholic could be Chief-Governor, or Governor of this Kingdom, Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord High Treasurer, Chief of any of the Courts of Justice, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Puisne Judge, Judge in the Admiralty, Master of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Vice-Treasurer, his Deputy, Teller or Cashier of Exchequer, Auditor-General, Governor or *Custos Rotulorum* of Counties, Chief-Governor's Secretary, Attorney-, Solicitor-General, Master in Chancery, Provost or Fellow of Trinity College Dublin, Postmaster-General, Master and Lieutenant-General of Ordnance, Commander-in-Chief, General on the Staff, Sheriff, Sub Sheriff, Mayor, Bailiff, Recorder, Burgess, or any other officer in a city or a corporation. No Catholic could be guardian to a Protestant, and no priest guardian at all: no Catholic could be a game-keeper, or have for sale or otherwise, any arms or warlike stores: no Catholic could present to a living: the pecuniary qualification of Catholic Jurors was made higher than that of Protestants, and no relaxation of the ancient rigorous code was permitted, unless to those who should take an oath prescribed by 13 and 14 Geo. III.*

The year 1812 was an epoch in the history of the Catholic question. As far as argument was concerned, the controversy was then decided. The justice and necessity of emancipation was not only asserted but unanswerably demonstrated. Every man that deserved the name of a statesman was then satisfied that the Catholics should be disenthralled, and that ultimately it would be impossible to refuse to accede to their reasonable prayer and just demands. The *time* and *mode* of concession only remained a matter of doubt; and never yet was a righteous cause urged forward by the eloquence of ardent and jealous advocates, but the dogged reply of the oppressor was, "This is not the *time* to effect so great a change."

The invincible obstinacy of King George the Third on the Catholic question, which, contrary to the constitution of the country, placed the personal sentiments of the Sovereign against public policy, rendered it hopeless to press the case upon the attention of Parliament; but the establishment of a Regency removed this obstacle, and the supposed liberal sentiments of the Prince of Wales appeared to afford a favourable opportunity for settling the question.

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* *Vide* works of the Rev. Sydney Smith.

On the 31st of January Earl Fitzwilliam submitted a motion to the House of Lords :—"That the House do resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to take into consideration the present situation of affairs in Ireland." The Duke of Devonshire seconded the motion; but it was defeated by a majority of 83. Nothing daunted by this result, on the 3rd of February a similar motion was made in the House of Commons by Lord Morpeth,*—a name dear to letters and public liberty, respected as well on account of the virtues of the father, as of the talents and estimable qualities of the son, who now so worthily wears that historic title. The motion was rejected by a majority of 94. On the 21st of April the Earl of Donoughmore moved "for a committee to take into consideration the claims of the Catholic body for the removal of the disabilities under which they laboured." On this occasion his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex made an elaborate speech in favour of the motion; which was subsequently printed with historical illustrations of considerable value. The striking speech of the Marquess Wellesley in this debate has been already alluded to. Bigotry, however, was again triumphant; the members on the division being, for the motion 103, against it 174. Two days afterwards Mr. Grattan brought the question again before the House of Commons in a new shape, and moved for a committee; the debate was adjourned to the following night, and was protracted till six o'clock in the morning of the 25th. "There was no possible light," observes a contemporary writer, "in which the subject could be placed which was not resorted to by the different speakers." The startling eloquence of Grattan, which has wreathed a never-fading garland round his head, was exerted in all its power :—

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* Now Earl of Carlisle. *Vide* Appendix, vol. i.

> "Even Tyranny listening sate melted or mute,
> And Corruption shrunk scorch'd from the glance of his mind."

Canning, Brougham, Romilly, and the other "chiefs in the eloquent war," greatly distinguished themselves; and though there was an adverse majority of 85, it was easy to discover that the arguments which had been advanced in both Houses in favour of Catholic emancipation, had made a strong impression upon Parliament. On the 22nd of June Mr. Canning made another attempt to induce the House of Commons to take the Catholic question into their consideration. He laid down three principles on which, in his opinion, the whole matter rested :—1. He would assume as a general rule, that citizens of the same state, living under the same government, are entitled, *primâ facie*, to equal political rights and privileges. 2nd. That it is at all times desirable to create and maintain the most perfect identity of interest and feeling among all the members of the same community. 3rd. That where there exists in any community a great permanent cause of political discontent, which agitates men's minds without having any tendency to subside of itself, it becomes the duty of the supreme power in the state to determine in what mode it may most advantageously be set at rest.

Justice and eloquence were successful on this occasion. These repeated blows, by arms of so much power, heated even the iron heart of Castlereagh,—who expressed himself favourable to an inquiry into the Catholic claims. Mr. Canning's motion was carried by a decisive majority—the numbers being 235 for it; 106 against it!

The Marquess Wellesley brought forward a similar motion on the 1st of July in the Upper House. The public looked on with intense anxiety—the hopes of the Catholics beat high—their darling object seemed to be within their grasp—the day of their deliverance appeared to be drawing nigh—the opponents of toleration began to fear that the doom of their despotism was at hand; but alas! all these high anticipations were dashed down by the proxy of one absent peer! The numbers on the division were,—for Lord Wellesley's motion, contents, present 74, proxies 51,—total 125, non-contents, present 74, proxies 52, total 126. Majority against the Catholic claims one. Five Royal Dukes voted; two with the noble Marquess, three against him. Of the bench of Bishops three were favourable to the motion; fifteen were against it.

The Marquess Wellesley on this memorable occasion, spoke to the following effect: "I rise, my Lords, to submit to your Lordships my promised resolution on the subject of the political disabilities to which the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland are subject. The question has been often agitated, but never fully, maturely, and deliberately considered. The ordinary maxims of state policy which have been applied to every other subject that has engaged your Lordships' attention, have in this instance been violated. The more important any question has been—the greater and more powerful the body which it concerned—the more extensive the interests involved in it—so much the more deliberately, attentively and dispassionately has that question been usually investigated; but in regard to the disabilities to which the Roman Catholic subjects of the Empire are subject, this course has been inverted. The respectful claims of that great class of the population of the Empire have been met by passion rather than by reason and sound wisdom;—sometimes they have excited terror—sometimes vengeance—at other times contumely and contempt, and in several instances a combination of all those prejudicial feelings operating to exclude from the possession of their legitimate rights, so valuable a portion of the community. In this state of the subject, several persons greatly to their honour, have distinguished themselves by the most praiseworthy exertions—exertions which I flatter myself have not been made in vain. We have before us the treatment of this question, for a long series of ages, under a great variety of vicissitudes; and we have an opportunity of judging and examining the effects which have been produced by the treatment which has been pursued. It is therefore for us to consider whether a regular plain system founded on principles which shall embrace all the great objects of state cannot be devised? It is for us to consider how it can be applied to this great body of subjects? It is for us to deliberate how those who do not profess the established religion can be incorporated in the body of the state? This momentous question has always been introduced in a manner the most singular. At one time it was pressed forward, snatching at one circumstance; at another, it was influenced by a different but a temporary consideration. I conceive I should be guilty of disrespect to your Lordships were I to designate as a system the laws which are sought to be repealed. They are no system—they possess nothing indicative of a system—such a term cannot be applied to them—they cannot be described in that way. We have never had the opportunity of considering this question as a great whole which goes to affect the feelings and the interests of a large portion of the people, and to which the common principles of right and justice which should govern a great state ought to be applied."

Lord Wellesley then proceeded to state the principles on which he intended to submit his motion to the consideration of the House:—

"I then ask your Lordships whether the system is so perfect in theory—so beautiful in symmetry—so sound in principle—so admirable in frame—and so strongly and evidently marked with the characters of wisdom, that it must be improper even to take the subject into consideration? I next ask your Lordships whether, supposing the system not to be perfect in theory, (and there are many parts of our constitution which do not rest upon perfection in theory, but upon their advantages in practice,) it is so excellent in practice that you ought not to apply your minds to the question whether, though the theory is defective, the system has practically a tendency to promote the best interests of the country, to secure its power, its liberty, and the authority and stability even of the Established

Church,—whether, in short, it is so well calculated to secure those objects for which it was instituted as still to render it improper to consider the subject at all? There is another point of view in which I should also wish your Lordships to apply your minds to the question;—suppose the theory defective and the practical consequences in some respects detrimental, is it an evil which must be endured?—is it impossible to get rid of it? or must it be submitted to—as often happens in human affairs—in order to prevent a greater evil? Are the mischiefs arising from the prevalence of the system less than those which must follow its destruction? I then wish your Lordships to inquire whether the time at which this question is now brought before you—whether the mode in which I have called your Lordships' attention to it—whether the end of that consideration of the subject which it is the object of my resolution to propose, are altogether so objectionable as to induce your Lordships on that ground alone to reject it, though the propositions should be proved to be favourable to my view of the question?"

His Lordship then proceeded to discuss these topics separately:—

"With regard, then, to the first proposition—the theoretical perfection of the system—without recurring to ancient times and all the various causes as detailed in our history from which the system originated and advanced to its present state, I shall only ask your Lordships to look at it as it now exists. *In England the Roman Catholics are disabled from voting for members of Parliament and from sitting in Parliament; and they are excluded from holding any offices* *civil and military.* That the conduct of the Roman Catholics of England has for a long time been most exemplary and conformable to every principle of good government, no one, I presume, will venture to deny. Yet the operation of this system is to subject the Roman Catholics of England to disabilities from which the Roman Catholics of Ireland are to a certain degree exempt. What, then, is the operation of the system in Ireland? Thus, while the Catholics are admitted to certain civil offices, they are excluded from the most important. They are admitted to the bar, but disqualified from serving the Crown in that profession; and the lower classes of the bar are therefore discontented,—I hope not disaffected, but discontented; and that discontent necessarily arises out of the concession itself. It is true that there is an act of Parliament which in its commencement adverts to the capacity of Irish Catholics, on taking certain oaths, to hold any situation; but strange to say, the same act proceeds to exclude them *eo nomine* from all offices that may be supposed likely to excite the ambition of ardent and honourable minds. The admission to the bar must inspire every English and Irish Catholic with the belief that he is deemed qualified to proceed farther; and yet here he is permitted to advance to a certain extent, and then has the mortification to be stopped in the midst of his career. In the army, the operation of the system is the same. Catholics are allowed to reach a certain point; and when they have attained that, they find an insuperable bar to their further progress. Such is its effect in a variety of other points. More ample concessions have been made to the Irish than the English Catholics." Having dwelt on the inconsistency of treating the Roman Catholics of England with a greater degree of rigour than their Irish brethren, the Marquess Wellesley proceeded :—

"I next request your Lordships to look at this system as it operates upon Catholics in Scotland; and what I may say on this subject, I advance with the less diffidence because, if I fall into error, I shall be subject to correction. I ask whether, by the law of Scotland since the year 1793, Catholics are not admissible to all offices, civil and military, in that country? That I think will appear to be the case. The fact is, that the English Catholics are subject to all the disabilities imposed by the system, except so far as it was relaxed by the act of 1791; while the Catholics of Scotland, though precluded from voting for members of Parliament or sitting in Parliament, are admissible to every office, civil or military. If the law of that country were examined in regard to this subject, I believe it would appear that, notwithstanding this privilege of the Catholics, they are liable to a prosecution for the exercise of their religion. Such is the strange and monstrous anomaly of the system in Scotland. But how has it happened that, with these superior advantages enjoyed by the Catholics, the Established Church in Scotland is still safe? The Catholics might surely have done a great deal in the period that has elapsed since 1793. Even the High Commissioner to the Kirk may be a Roman Catholic; though if he happen to engage in the exercise of his religion on his way to the General Assembly, he would still render himself liable to a prosecution. How then has the Establishment of

Scotland escaped the danger? Why are we not alarmed for the consequences? I have never heard that any ground of apprehension ever existed, or that the Presbyterian or Episcopalian Church of Scotland has been in greater danger than the Established Church in those parts of the empire in which the system has been preserved in a higher degree of vigour." "Such," continued the noble speaker, "such is the strange, absurd, and monstrous anomaly of this system in regard to England, Scotland, and Ireland!"

The Marquess Wellesley next advanced the proposition that the system of exclusion pursued towards professors of the Roman Catholic religion was contrary to natural justice:—

"*I insist that it is contrary to natural justice to inflict any disability upon any class, and to exclude them from the ordinary advantages of the constitution, unless the security of the state necessarily demand the exclusion. I say it is* primâ facie *a gross injustice which can be qualified only by the clearest proof of its necessity. It is not only contrary to natural justice, but I contend it is contrary also to the spirit of the Christian religion to impose disabilities merely on account of religious opinions; and I say that these disabilities are in reality imposed merely on that account.*"

The noble Marquess continued: "But I go further, my Lords; I maintain the system was never intended to be permament; that the incapacities were imposed merely on account of the peculiar circumstances of the times, and that the laws were enforced only from time to time, according to the state of affairs in this country and abroad." His Lordship then entered into the history of the penal laws, and traced their progress from the times of James the First to those of the Pretender:—

"Are we now under the apprehension of any such danger? Is there any dread of the principles of a popish pretender? Are the circumstances of that and of the present time, in any point, similar to each other? No; they are all completely distinct and different. My Lords, I maintain that the authority of Lord Somers and Lord Hardwicke, instead of being against us, is directly for us. We have the proof that these great men did not think the guards and securities then provided, applicable to times and circumstances like the present. Is it not clear that these guards and securities were calculated for the circumstances of the times merely; when it was expressly provided that they should in a great measure cease when the circumstances that gave rise to them no longer existed? This is a distinct recognition that the provisions were intended by the framers to be merely temporary, and to expire with the occasion."

Having considered the position of the Pope, then a prisoner in the hands of Buonaparte, his Lordship emphatically observed:—

"It is therefore no longer to be disputed that the circumstances I have adverted to should not be a bar to the consideration of this great and national question. *No excuse is at hand to justify the longer continuance of a system inconsistent with the common maxims of the English constitution, inconsistent with the principles of natural justice, with the mild spirit of Christianity, and the reasons in which it originated.*"

Lord Wellesley next requested the House of Lords to direct their attention to the practical effect which the system had in its general consequences:—

"Has it not inflicted penalties? And when penalties are inflicted on account of religious tenets, may it not justly be called intolerance? This, my Lords, is no other than persecution; for if mankind are, on account of their mode of thinking, to be debarred of civil rights, they are immediately punished with persecution. The consequence is, that discontent must spring up amongst those who are thus treated with intolerance and persecution. But it has been suggested that the principles which are professed by Catholics with respect to political subjects, are of themselves sufficient to place the Protestant Establishment upon its guard against the power of Popery. I shall not detain your Lordships by entering into a description of what those sentiments are represented to be; but they have been universally denied by the Catholics; they have been abjured by that religious class in all countries of Europe, and by all the Catholic authorities which are to be found in the present period of the world. And is it for a reason like this that a system of laws so hostile to the spirit of all wise legislation, to the spirit of religion, to the spirit of the constitution, is to be suffered to exist? Is there anything so excellent in its frame, so perfect in its symmetry, so sound in its objects, as to make it worth our while to sustain it at all hazards? No: it is an anomaly—all contradiction—all short-sightedness. It gives up what might produce good, and it gives it up for what has produced evil; leaves open what it might be prudent to shut, and it shuts what it is only safe to open!

"Are we, my Lords, to retain this system in defiance of its strange incongruities in England, Scotland, and Ireland; relaxing where there might appear some reason for restraint, and imposing restraint where no evil could result from relaxation? or are all its practical evils completely compensated for by the beauty and perfection of its theoretical contexture, that we ought not to venture to approach it with the sacrilegious hand of innovation? Assuredly no one will maintain such a proposition. On the other hand, are the practical benefits such as should induce us to bear with the theoretical anomalies and absurdities which it presents? I am aware that sometimes the best effects flow from such anomalies; but is that the case in the present instance? By no means. On the contrary, they go to inflict sufferings on those who are within the sphere of their operations. *Sufferings I repeat. Is not the inability to sit in Parliament a suffering? Is it no degradation? Is not every privation of the kind by which men are marked out from their fellow-subjects degradation and consequently suffering?* Your Lordships will recollect that an inability to hold civil and military offices is inflicted as a penalty for misdemeanours of the highest description committed by public men—if not as a penalty, as what is it inflicted? And if it is inflicted as a penalty in the one case, how can it be divested of that character in the other? If it is admitted to be a penalty, then will I say that the Catholics subjected to it are subjected to a penalty of the nature of persecution;

for it is too narrow a view to take of persecution, my Lords, to hold that fire and faggot and the rack are the only ministers which can execute its bidding!"

Having exhausted every part of the subject which his Lordship introduced to the House, the Marquess Wellesley concluded this remarkable speech in the following words:—

"The importance of the subject, the probable effect of evasion, the danger of delay, all concur to press this great question upon me, and compel me to call upon you for some pledge of its speedy consideration. Then I, with others, whose assistance I will be happy to claim, and after whom, or with whom, I am ready to take my share in the discussion of this question, will be proud and happy to come forward with those measures which, by providing for a final arrangement, seem to us most calculated to ensure the happiness and prosperity of the country. Those measures must not be suffered to linger without a pledge; if they are, let Parliament look to the result on the feelings of the country;—let them, above all, look to its impression on Ireland,—let them, look to the consequence of telling any great body of men that they shall have no place among us; that we have laid up their disabilities in the very temple of the constitution, and made their restraints the palladium of our liberties. I trust in God we are now about to bind ourselves to the final arrangement which will amend all—secure all—reconcile all; and I therefore move you, my Lords, that this House will, early in the next session of Parliament, take into its most serious consideration, the state of the laws affecting his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may conduce to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of the Protestant Establishment, and the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his Majesty's subjects."

A general election at the close of 1812 changed the composition of the House of Commons; and notwithstanding the declarations of the Earl of Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh, the Roman Catholics were sent back to the gloom of slavery, which they were destined to endure during a dreary period of seventeen years.

While the friends of civil and religious liberty were making these vigorous assaults upon the citadel of intolerance in the Senate; there arose a remarkable man, who took the leadership of Irish Catholics, and infused his own undaunted courage into the hearts of his fellow-countrymen;—he was gifted, if not with eloquence according to the rules of art, with an extraordinary power of touching the hearts of his audience. He was hailed, in the poetic language of his enthusiastic followers, as a Moses,* who was about to lead his brethren forth from the bondage of Goshen; he was "skilled in all the learning of the Egyptians," and was implicitly followed even through the stormy paths of the sea:—who is ignorant of his forty years' travail in the wilderness—the chiding and murmuring of faint-hearted followers—his perseverance, and final arrival at Jordan? Although not distinguished by the meek attribute of the Hebrew deliverer, he was accompanied in his pilgrimage by a faithful Aaron, a "spokesman unto the people."

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* "Ye bondsmen of Egypt! a Moses appears,
To lead your dark steps thro' this desert of tears!"

But though Daniel O'Connell and Richard Lalor Shiel were principal instruments in accomplishing Catholic Emancipation, it is not difficult to see that but for the steady devotion of the strong parliamentary phalanx of the friends of universal toleration and freedom of conscience, all their efforts would have been in vain. For a long series of years the following distinguished men exerted their undivided energies in the Catholic cause:—Lords Holland, Grey, Erskine, Moira, Wellesley, Morpeth, John Russell, Milton, the Duke of Sussex, Grattan, Romilly, Brougham, Canning, Plunkett, Mackintosh. But even the eloquence of these great men would have been ineffectual, but for the coöperation of a powerful press. Father O'Leary, Sydney Smith ("Peter Plymley"), Cobbett, Thomas Moore, Bentham, Bishop Milner, Lingard, and the *Edinburgh Review* contributed powerfully in dispersing popular prejudices; and many great and influential journals unceasingly demanded the settlement of the question. Thank God, the question has been settled! and there is scarcely a man in the United Kingdom who would now desire to see it disturbed, or who would (were it possible) desire the restoration of the system which received its *coup de grace* in 1829. Toleration, respect for the rights of conscience, mutual forbearance, and charity, are the best guarantees for the happiness of civil society.

CHAPTER XIII.

Blockades and Restrictions upon Trade removed by Peace.—Alarm of the Landed Proprietors.—Average Price of Wheat, from 1804 to 1814, Ninety Shillings per Quarter.—That Price considered by many as a fair one.—The Lords appoint a Committee to examine the State of the Corn Trade.—They report that Corn should be absolutely prohibited till the Price of Wheat was Eighty Shillings.—Violent Commotions in the Manufacturing Districts.—The Corn Bill introduced into Parliament.—All Efforts to defeat it, or reduce the Pivot below Eighty Shillings, fruitless.—Mobs and Riots for several Days.—The Populace surround the Houses of Parliament, and maltreat some Members.—The Military called out.—The Houses of others assailed, and obliged to keep Soldiers in their Houses.—Mr. Wilberforce with Soldiers, &c. at his Family Prayers.—The Bill passed both Houses.—Protest against it drawn up by Lord Grenville and the Marquess Wellesley.—The Marquess Wellesley censures the Congress of Vienna, and opposes the re-commencement of the War on the escape of Buonaparte from Elba.—Submits a Motion to the House of Lords on the Escape of Buonaparte.—Supports Lord Lansdowne's Motion for a Reduction of the Forces.—Observations on the Army in India.—Urges Economy.—Condemns the Income Tax.—Distress and Discontent of the Working Classes.—Again draws attention to the lavish Expenditure of the Public Income.—Opposes the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus.—Supports the Ministers, in 1819, in their Efforts to suppress Sedition.

On the termination of hostilities with America and the continental war, the blockades which had disarranged the commerce of the whole world, and committed havoc on all regular trade, were removed. Commercial intercourse between nation and nation, it was hoped, would return to its former channels, and peace permit industry and enterprise to exert themselves without hinderance or limitation. A vast artificial system had grown up under the restrictions of rigid blockades and acts of non-intercourse. From the year 1804 to the year 1814 the average price of wheat in England was 90*s.* per quarter. The landed interests were resolved, if possible, to keep up this scale of prices; and anticipating that the markets would soon be glutted with foreign corn, which could be sold at a much cheaper rate, they made preparations in the Legislature to regulate the corn trade by law. On the 10th of June, 1814, a committee of the House of Lords was appointed to investigate the circumstances of the corn trade; in seventeen days from that date they made their report, recommending restrictions on importation. The committee were, on the 27th of June, instructed to examine witnesses on the question, and make a second report. The result of the labours of the committee was, that they recommended that so long as the average price of wheat was under 80*s.* per quarter, the ports should be completely closed against supplies from other countries—that till the average price of wheat attained the pivot of 80*s.* foreign corn should be absolutely *prohibited.* This was considered by the agriculturists as a very reasonable proposition,—80*s.* per quarter for wheat being accounted a very "low figure." Some of the witnesses were of opinion that the ports should be shut against foreign grain till the price of wheat was 96*s.* per quarter; and out of sixteen agricultural witnesses examined before the committee, but four suggested a lower standard than 80*s.* The second report on the corn trade was presented on the 29th of July, 1814; but as the country had not yet felt the *evils* of peace, the session closed without any other legislative proceeding relative to corn than the repealing the 54th of George III. c. 69, by which a bounty was given on its exportation.

The recommendation of the Lords' committee produced violent tumults in the metropolis, in the large towns, and in the manufacturing districts. Public meetings were held to petition against its adoption, and the whole country was in a state of dangerous commotion.

The average price of wheat in some months of the year 1814 was as low as 66*s.* and even 60*s.* The agriculturists became alarmed. Ruin, they declared, was impending over British agriculture; and early in the session of 1815 a bill was brought into Parliament, giving effect to the recommendations of the committee of the previous session, and fixing 80*s.* per quarter as the point at which importation could be permitted;—positively prohibiting all foreign corn as long as prices were below that mark.

The manufacturing population petitioned and remonstrated; but as neither Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, nor the other great seats of commercial enterprise, were then represented in Parliament, their expostulations were unheeded. Riots took place in many places, and a strong feeling of discontent and disaffection to the Government was manifested in different parts of Great Britain.

The bill was warmly contested in Parliament, but the influence which the nomination boroughs secured to its promoters in the House of Commons enabled them to command decided majorities in its favour. At an early stage of the Corn Bill in the House of Commons a division took place on the proposition that 72*s*. should be substituted instead of 80*s*. The motion was negatived by an overwhelming majority; there being 35 votes for it; against it 154. On the 3rd of March, the vicinity of the Houses of Parliament was thronged by a vast multitude in a high state of excitement. Several members were stopped and interrogated; some were roughly handled; and the houses of many of the advocates of the new regulations were visited by the populace. The military were called out; and it required great exertions to keep the streets clear. On this evening (the 3rd of March) *the gallery of the House of Commons was closed against strangers.* Another attempt was made to mitigate the stringency of the law by making 74*s*. the standard instead of 80*s*. There were, however, but 77 votes in favour of the proposal, and 208 against it. On the 8th of May, on the bringing up of the bill, the advocates of free trade made another attempt to throw out the bill. An amendment was moved that the bill should be read that day six months, and it was supported by many able speeches; but the amendment was lost, there being, 50 for it, 168 against it. A final effort was made to substitute a lower pivot price than 80*s*., leaving it to the House to determine what the precise sum should be: 78 members supported this motion, and 184 opposed it. On the 10th of March, the last attempt was made to arrest the progress of the bill; 77 voted for throwing out the bill,—245 for it. The Corn Bill passed the House of Commons by a majority of 168.

In the House of Lords the measure passed with less difficulty. It was sanctioned by the Upper House on the 20th of March by a majority of 107;—there being 21 non-contents; among whom was the Marquess Wellesley. His Lordship had, in his conflict with the Court of Directors while in India, exhibited a steadfast adherence to freedom of trade; and he opposed the Corn Bill of 1815, on the ground that it was wrong, on principle, to place restrictions on the supply of food, and that the general happiness was best promoted by leaving commerce free. The arguments against prohibitions or restrictions on the importation of corn are most ably summed up in the following document, drawn up by Lord Grenville and the Marquess Wellesley:—

PROTEST AGAINST THE CORN BILL OF 1815.

"1. Because we are adverse in principle to all new restrictions on commerce. *We think it certain that public prosperity is best promoted by leaving uncontrolled the free current of national industry;* and we wish rather, by well considered steps, to bring back our commercial legislation to the straight and simple line of wisdom, than to increase the deviation by subjecting additional and extensive branches of the public interest to fresh systems of artificial and injurious restriction.

"2. Because we think that *the great practical rule of* *leaving all commerce unfettered*, applies more peculiarly, and on still stronger grounds of justice as well as of policy, to the corn trade than to any other. *Irresistible, indeed, must be the necessity which could in our judgment authorise the legislature to tamper with the sustenance of the people, and to impede the free purchase and sale of that article on which depends the existence of so large a portion of the community.*

"3. Because we think that the expectations of ultimate benefit from this measure are founded on a delusive theory. We cannot persuade ourselves that this law will ever contribute to produce plenty, cheapness, or steadiness of price. So long as it operates at all, its effects must be the opposite of these. Monopoly is the parent of scarcity, dearness, and of uncertainty. To cut off any of the sources of supply can only tend to lessen its abundance; to close against ourselves the cheapest market for any commodity must enhance the price at which we purchase it; *and to confine the consumer of corn to the produce of his own country is to refuse to ourselves the benefit of that provision which Providence itself has made for equalizing to man the variations of season and of climate.*

"4. But whatever may be the future consequences of this law, at some distant and uncertain period, we see with pain that those hopes must be purchased at the expense of great and present evils. To compel the consumer to purchase corn dearer at home than it might be imported from abroad, is the immediate practical effect of this law. In this way alone can it operate. Its present protection, its promised extension of agriculture must result (if at all) from the profits which it creates *by keeping up the price of corn to an artificial level.* These future benefits are the consequences expected, but, as we confidently believe, erroneously expected, from *giving a bounty to the grower of corn by a tax levied on the consumer.*

"And on all these grounds we are anxious to record our dissent from a measure so precipitate in its course, and, as we fear, so injurious in its consequence.

August. Frederick.[*]
William Frederick.[†]
Grenville.
Wellesley.
Essex.
Torrington.
Dutton.[‡]
Chandos Buckingham.[§]
Montfort.
King.
Carlisle.

So violent was the popular feeling against the bill of 1815, that several members of Parliament who supported the measure, were obliged to have their houses guarded day and night by soldiers,—who became part of their households. Mr. Wilberforce, writing to his son, makes the remark, that every day while the excitement lasted, he had three or four soldiers, and a peace officer at the family prayers!

The Marquess Wellesley strongly disapproved of the proceedings of the Congress of Vienna and the Treaty of Fontainebleau, guaranteeing to Napoleon the sovereignty of Elba. His Lordship also opposed the renewal of the war after the escape of the imperial prisoner from that island. On the discussion of the Regent's message, 7th of April, 1815, the noble Marquess said:—

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[*] Duke of Sussex.

[†] Duke of Gloucester.

[‡] Marquess of Douglas.

[§] Father of the present Duke.

"That whatever was the ultimate result of the present calamitous crisis, it could not fail to be animating amidst the dangers which threatened this country and Europe; that the spirit of our people, the valour of our arms, the extent of our resources had been carried to their utmost pitch; and while we had afforded an example to others, we had saved ourselves and risen to a height beyond our hopes, both in our security and glory. He rejoiced also that instead of being hurried precipitately into violent acts of war, which would have betrayed real timidity, the more dangerous because it assumed the garb of courage, they had been merely called on to give credit to his Majesty's Ministers for those measures of prudence and precaution which would enable the country to resist the danger in whatever shape it appeared. With these sentiments he should have terminated his observations, but for certain remarks of his noble friend (the Earl of Liverpool), which were such that he could not remain silent. The observation to which he particularly alluded was, that we could not expect Europe to subside into a state of peace without some further convulsions. It had long been his opinion, and it was known to be so *that the conduct of the Congress had led to the events which we had now to regret;* that system (if indeed that could be called a system which was nothing but an undigested mass of mutilated materials), which the powers at Vienna had established, had been in his judgment the true cause of the dethronement of the august family of Bourbon. The noble Lord had said that, in framing the Treaty of Paris, care had been taken to consult the character and honour of France. In viewing this subject it was evident that there were two systems of policy that might be pursued. In the first place, that France should be required to withdraw within her ancient limits; *if this principle were adopted, then it ought to be applied equally to all the other governments of Europe*:—in the second place, if general changes or distributions of territory were resolved upon, that the same rule should be applied to France that regulated other powers. Had either of these lines of policy been pursued? No: no general system had been acted upon; the mere will and pleasures of the parties were consulted, and the sovereigns at Vienna had punished one power because it had first entered into the contest with them, and another because it had last quitted the cause which it had espoused. The result had been, that instead of fixing a system of permanent tranquillity and happiness, the labours of the Congress had been devoted to establish a system of gross injustice and absolute discordance. The misfortune with regard to France was, that neither of the two principles he had noticed had been observed: she had been compelled with a very slight deviation, to retire within her ancient frontiers; she had been severely punished, while other powers had been aggrandized to an immense extent; and great accessions of territory and strength, had been given to those who had, from various causes, become objects of peculiar favour. This it was that had produced so strong a feeling in France against the Bourbons: for the people considered them merely as the agents in the hands of foreign powers, who had made them the instruments of degradation and injustice to the French nation. One of the chief advantages obtained by Buonaparte, and of which he made such ample use in his declarations, was, that France had been degraded and lowered in the eyes of all Europe, by means of those whom foreigners had placed upon her throne."

The noble Marquess concluded his remarks by ardently hoping that the aggravated calamities of a new war would be arrested, and that the state of peace, which we had only contemplated, might be realised for our own welfare, and for the welfare of the rest of Europe.

Again, on the 12th of April, 1815, the Marquess Wellesley submitted a motion to the House respecting the escape of Buonaparte, and strongly censured the Treaty of Fontainebleau, and the whole policy of British Government relative to it:—"He contended first that this treaty was contrary to policy; secondly that it was unnecessary to conclude it; and thirdly that no due measures of precaution were taken to enforce its performance. The whole proceeding was, according to his judgment, radically wrong; and as to the generosity which had been very loftily spoken of in this transaction, it was quite a mockery to pretend that any consideration of generosity had influenced the treaty. There was, in fact, no generosity, justice, or policy belonging to its character. He would have granted a handsome—nay, a noble provision to Buonaparte; but he would have taken care to make due provision against his return to power. There was not, however, one word in the treaty on this point. No: this most material object was totally overlooked."

On the 16th of March, 1816, the Marquess of Lansdowne submitted a motion to the House of Lords on the military establishments of the country, deprecating the enormous force maintained in time of peace. The Marquess Wellesley vigorously supported Lord Lansdowne on this occasion:—

"He pledged his existence and whatever he had of character as a statesman, that a deduction of at least five thousand King's troops might be safely made from the proposed establishment for India."

With respect to the army which it was intended to maintain in Ireland, Lord Wellesley made the following remarks:—

"Until he received from his Majesty's Ministers a clear exposition of the measures they had in contemplation for allaying the agitations which from all quarters he knew to exist in that country, until he heard that the force was to be accompanied by something like measures of a soothing and healing nature for that desolated and afflicted country, he could not vote for the establishment of such a force. The idea that the wounds of a country distressed like Ireland could be healed by the oblivious antidote of an establishment of twenty-five thousand troops, was what no man in his senses could entertain."

In the course of the same speech his Lordship condemned, in the most pointed terms, the Income Tax:—

"The grand principle to be aimed at in all taxation was, that it should not touch the productive powers of capital; but this tax intercepted capital in its progress to production. The general object of all policy in times of peace was to increase our resources; but the principle of this tax was directly opposite to the first principle on which we sought peace, namely, that we might obtain that repose which should enable us to make the exertions which our exigencies demanded. He would say nothing as to the inquisitorial nature of the tax. He said at once, that the tax was at variance with every principle of taxation in peace."

On the 15th of April in the same year, the Marquess Wellesley seconded the motion of the Marquess Lansdowne for "an humble address to the Prince for production of the reduced estimates of the Staff and the Ordnance." Lord Wellesley concluded a speech of remarkable energy in the following pointed terms:—

"The noble Earl,"* he believed, "did not suffer himself to advert to the real wants and distresses of the people, echoed from all parts of the kingdom, or he would feel the force of the lines of the great poet:—

"'O yet a nobler task awaits thy hand,
(For what can war but endless war still breed?)
Till Truth and Right from Violence be freed,
And public faith cleared from the shameful brand
Of public fraud. In vain doth Valour bleed
While Avarice and Rapine share the land!'

"To rouse the feelings of our injured country by perseverance in unjust oppression was indeed dangerous, but much more injurious would it be to debase and crush the generous spirit of the English nation by the weight of military despotism: both these extremities were to be avoided, and he conjured the noble Earl to re-consider the enormous estimates proposed to reduce the military system within due bounds, to cease to tax the industry of those who were severely distressed, and the result would be—fresh resources and a contented people."

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* Earl Bathurst.

On the opening of Parliament, 1817, the Marquess Wellesley again addressed the House on the burdens of the nation:—

"When he saw the condition of all ranks of his Majesty's people, and looked back to their exertions, their patience, their loyalty, their confidence in Parliament, and their present misery, he was utterly at a loss to conceive by what criminal forgetfulness of their duty Ministers could have withheld the most solemn assurances of an immediate and strict inquiry into the causes of such tremendous misfortunes, and a pledge of every possible relief."

His Lordship boldly advanced the unpalatable doctrine of general retrenchment in the public expenditure:—

"The scandalous profusion could not go on. Parliament must do its duty. There was no longer a refuge to be found from the cries of the hungry—the famished population. The army must be reduced. He had no hesitation in saying that, with every regard to the dignity of the Crown, to the maintenance of our rank and security of our empire, it might be greatly reduced. The Civil List also, and all the establishments of every kind, must be retrenched with no sparing hand. Indeed, one rule should be applied to them all,—that nothing, however ancient, should be suffered to exist which was not absolutely necessary for the safety and very being of the country."

In the course of the same session the Marquess Wellesley opposed the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, although his Lordship was at this time suffering from the effects of severe indisposition. He cautioned the Ministers not to fortify the persuasion—vainly felt, he hoped,—that all these propositions, all these rumours of peril, were merely meant to divert the attention of Parliament from the duty of retrenchment and economy which it had to perform." On the motion for the third reading he again spoke, and gave the question a direct negative.

The year 1819 was one of great public excitement in England. The higher classes became alarmed, and the Prince Regent issued a proclamation against seditious meetings. Lord Wellesley supported the Government at this juncture, and made a powerful speech in aid of their policy.

CHAPTER XVI.

Dreadful Condition of Ireland in 1821.—Appointment of the Marquess Wellesley as Lord-Lieutenant.—Facts illustrative of the State of the Country.—Captain Rock and the Whiteboys.—Violently take away Horses and Fire-arms.—General Enthusiasm at the arrival of Lord Wellesley.—Dublin brilliantly Illuminated.—Addresses from the various Corporations, Learned Bodies, Counties and Provincial Towns.—Speech of his Excellency in Answer to the Corporation of Dublin.—Answer to the Address of the Farming Society of Ireland.—Address of Trinity College, Dublin.—Address of the Catholic Prelates.—Lord Wellesley's Answer.—Meeting of the Roman Catholics of Dublin.—Mr. O'Connell moves, and Mr. Shiel seconds, a Congratulatory Address to the Lord-Lieutenant.—The Lord Mayor's Banquet to the Marquess Wellesley.—His Excellency's Speeches on the occasion.—His Sentiments distasteful to the Supporters of an Orange Ascendancy.—The Dublin Guild of Merchants refuse to admit Roman Catholics into their Guild.—Violent Proceedings at Sir Thomas Whelan's Dinner.

There is an Irish proverb to the effect that the "hour that is darkest is the hour before day." During the year 1821, the population of a great portion of Ireland was in a state of open insurrection. Neither life nor property were safe; formidable bodies of armed men, bound together by secret oaths, spread terror and desolation through the country; they committed their depredations by night, robbing houses of money and arms, taking away horses, and, night after night, firing the residences of parties who had become objects of vengeance. The mail-coaches were intercepted and plundered on the King's high road; and the royal troops were upon several occasions, under cover of night, encountered in the open country. Neither the terrors of a numerous army nor the threatenings of the law were of any avail. Even the zealous efforts of the Roman Catholic clergy to restore tranquillity, had no effect upon "Captain Rock" and his "Whiteboy" followers.

Although the visit of his Majesty King George the Fourth to Dublin was hailed with delight by the citizens and the gentry, who flocked thither from every part of the island to greet the Sovereign, several of the counties continued to be convulsed with rapine and bloodshed.

At this crisis of difficulty and peril, the Marquess Wellesley was entrusted with the government of his native country. He was welcomed as the morning star of Catholic Emancipation,

> "Out of the East with flaming locks bedight,
> To tell the dawning day is drawing near." *

The Annual Register describes the condition of Ireland in the beginning of 1822, as "a tempestuous scene of violence, iniquity, and disorder. Atrocious deeds, it is added, similar to those which disgraced the conclusion of the preceding year, continued to be perpetrated by day and by night. In vain had the military force been augmented in the disturbed districts; in vain had the judges and ministers of the law performed their functions with stern severity; in vain had many of the deluded wretches atoned on the scaffold for their crimes;—the country was still in the same insecure and unquiet state; the outrages instead of ceasing were multiplied in number, and became more audacious in their character. Nearly the whole of Munster was in a situation into which it is difficult to conceive how a civilised country could fall, that was not afflicted by foreign invasion, or had not been the seat of protracted civil war."

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* The Roman Catholic Relief Bill passed the year following the Marquess Wellesley's resignation of the office of Lord-Lieutenant.

At a coroner's inquest held at Glauntane, county of Cork, on the 13th of January, the following verdict was found by the jury:—nothing can possibly depict more vividly the state of Ireland when the Marquess Wellesley assumed the reins of Government:—

"That the said Rev. James Bond Lowe (a magistrate of the county) came by his death near the village of Glauntane, in consequence of the unsteadiness of some privates of the 22nd regiment, who fired without receiving the command of either their officer Lieutenant Stephens, or the magistrate the Rev. John Chester, while on a patroling party on the morning of the 12th inst., in consequence of information that a body of Whiteboys intended to be out in that direction."

The following is a list of magistrates, gentlemen, and farmers, in the neighbourhood of Mill-street, who were visited by Whiteboys, and deprived of their arms, horses, and money in one night, during the month of January, 1822:—

MAGISTRATES.

Denis M'Cartie, Esq., one gun.

John Leader, Esq., Upper Keal, two pistols, one gun, and a bullet mould.

William Leader, Esq., Mount Leader, one gun.

Barry Cotter, Esq., Flenlfield.

PRIVATE GENTLEMEN, FARMERS, &c.

Thomas Madden, Esq., Dysert, one gun.
Charles M'Cartie, Esq., Church Hill, one gun and a sword.
John Leader, Jun., Esq., one gun.
Mr. Richard Pomeroy, Clara, one gun.
Mr. Stephen Hall, Cock Hill, two guns.
Mr. Thomas Justice, one blunderbuss.
Mr. Charles Williams, one gun.
John Lynch, Kepagh, one gun.
Charles Riordan, Ballydaly, one gun.
John Kelleher, Gloughnula, one gun.
Doctor Wallis, of Wine Hill, whose horse (adds the same authority) was taken, with the horses of many other respectable individuals.

Into the *causes* of these disturbances we shall have occasion to inquire hereafter: at present we have merely to deal with the fact of general disaffection :—

"Through Connaught, Leinster, Munster, Ulster,
Rock 's the boy to make the fun stir." *

The Marquess Wellesley was welcomed with expressions of general satisfaction. The appointment of a statesman of such high standing to the office of Lord-Lieutenant, excited the hopes of all parties; the Catholics looked to him as a protector and advocate; the influential portion of the Protestant gentry and people forgot his liberal principles in their admiration of the brother of the Duke of Wellington; the learned bodies regarded him with respect, in consequence of his devotion to letters, and his high classical attainments; and all parties were gratified at seeing so illustrious an Irishman exercising the authority of Viceroy.

The city of Dublin was illuminated from one end to the other in honour of his arrival, and among the signs of the times it was noted that "the fine mansions of the Earl of Meath and the Right Honourable W. C. Plunkett were conspicuous for their brilliancy, and that Mr. O'Connell's residence in Merrion Square was splendidly light with wax."

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* Moore.

But the spirit of enthusiasm excited at Lord Wellesley's appointment, did not exhaust itself in the metropolis. In all parts of the country requisitions, signed by the nobility, gentry, and clergy, without reference to party, were published, calling county meetings to address his Excellency; and there was scarcely a town in Ireland in which there was not offered a public demonstration of respect to the new Lord-Lieutenant.

The Marquess Wellesley's position was, nevertheless, an anomalous one. He was a strenuous advocate of Catholic Emancipation,—a man of enlarged and liberal views; but the head of the Government, the Earl of Liverpool, and the Home Secretary, Mr. Peel, were opposed to the concession of the Catholic claims; and his Excellency was fettered by a Chief Secretary, Mr. Goulburn, who, though a most high-minded gentleman, and a man of excellent business habits, was a supporter of party ascendancy. Lord Wellesley knew that he was in a delicate, almost a false position; but he saw *so many practical evils in the administration of the laws,* that he felt that he should be enabled to confer many solid advantages on the country by accepting office, even before the Catholics were emancipated; and that by a vigorous and impartial government, he might lay the foundation of a reconciliation between the warring classes,—and thus prepare the way for the full admission of the Roman Catholics to the rights of citizens.

His Excellency's first levee on the 8th of January, 1822, presented a scene that was entirely new in Ireland. Men of all parties were present ;—the aristocracy and the merchants; the bishops and clergy of the Established Church, and the Roman Catholic hierarchy; Mr. O'Connell as well as the heads of the Orange party. "The new Lord-Lieutenant," remarks the *Examiner*, January 1822, "has held his first levee. As far as appearances testify, the Marquess Wellesley has commenced his Viceroyalty both auspiciously and characteristically ;—that is to say, with benignant countenance to all parties, and with the assumption of splendid vigour."

THE CORPORATION ADDRESS.

The Lord Mayor and Recorder, in the state carriage, accompanied by the Sheriffs and city regalia, were the first to arrive at the levee. After their address was read by the Recorder, the Lord-Lieutenant delivered the following answer with singular animation and elegance :—

LORD WELLESLEY'S ANSWER.

"Among the various emotions with which I receive this most affectionate and loyal address, I feel peculiar satisfaction in observing your ardent sentiments of gratitude and dutiful attachment to our beloved and most gracious Sovereign.

"It will be my grateful task to convey to his Majesty, this renewed testimony of the affection of his faithful citizens of Dublin; and as such pledges of your sentiments cannot fail to prove most acceptable to his benevolent heart, I am persuaded that your reception of my appointment to the government of Ireland, will tend to confirm me in the favour and confidence of my Sovereign.

"The kindness of your sentiments of personal regard towards me, has made an impression on my heart which no language can express, and no time or circumstances can efface.

"Animated by these testimonies of public esteem, I undertake the duties of my arduous station with cheerfulness, though not without an awful sense of the weight of the great charge.

"You may be assured that the disturbances which have prevailed to so calamitous an extent in the country, have engaged my most serious and anxious attention.

"Obedience to the law must be established—not merely for the dignity of the Government, or for the protection of property, but for the happiness and prosperity of the people, whose condition must ever be miserable while it shall be more safe to violate than to obey the law.

"It is the brightest ornament of the Crown of our benignant Sovereign, that the King of these realms is sworn, at the august ceremony of his coronation, to administer law and justice in mercy in all his judgments.

"In representing the sacred person of his Majesty in this country, it will be my primary obligation to dispense this blessing to my native country; and I trust that such a course of administration may, in process of time, restore the principles of order and lawful government.

"I recollect with the most cordial pleasure the early moments of my public life, when my conduct was distinguished by the approbation of your ancient and loyal corporation, and when I had the honour of being enrolled in the distinguished list of the freemen of my native city.

"Since that period of time I have been called upon to serve my Sovereign and my country in various stations and in distant climates; wherever my lot has been cast, I have endeavoured not to disgrace my family or my country.

"Now, if under the favour of my gracious Sovereign and of Divine Providence, I should be enabled to restore peace and concord to Ireland, my long public career will be closed with happiness, honour, and genuine glory. In attempting this great and glorious work, I rely on the confidence and coöperation of my countrymen; and your conduct inspires an ardent hope that I shall not be disappointed."

The Lord-Lieutenant was most magnificently attired in purple velvet, richly embroidered.

THE FARMING SOCIETY OF IRELAND.

The Farming Society of Ireland, represented by the Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Meath, and Viscount Lismore, presented an address to his Excellency praying his patronage of the Society.

The Marquess Wellesley returned the following answer:—

"Under the authority of your Charter I accept the honourable charge which you have been pleased to entrust to me with a high sense of its public importance.

"It will be my anxious endeavour to afford any assistance within my power to the Farming Society, in the promotion of its useful and salutary objects; and I sincerely hope that you may continue to advance the agriculture of Ireland and to diffuse the spirit of honest industry.

"I am deeply impressed with the value and importance of your institution; and sensible as I must be of the utility of such establishments, in whatever country they may have been introduced, I feel that that they are of more peculiar interest and advantage in Ireland, where the introduction of habits of industrious labour is indispensably requisite for the safety of property and for the happiness of the great body of the people.,"

TRINITY COLLEGE.

The Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, attended by the Doctors and Masters in their appropriate academic dresses, proceeded to the Castle to pay their respects to his Excellency and present a congratulatory address on his arrival in his native country.

CATHOLIC PRELATES' ADDRESS.

To his Excellency the Most Noble Richard Marquess Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"The undersigned Roman Catholic Bishops, participating in the universal gladness diffused throughout Ireland by your Excellency's arrival to administer his

Majesty's Government in your native country, beg leave to offer your Excellency their sincere and cordial congratulations upon this joyous occasion.

"They trust that their past conduct has conveyed to your Excellency a much better assurance than words can afford of their affectionate loyalty to their Sovereign and steady obedience to those in authority under him. They deeply deplore those atrocities which have lately outraged all religion in some parts of the country. They feel it their duty now and at all times, as Ministers of the Gospel, to resist the spirit of insubordination, to inculcate submission to the laws, and to preach peace and good will amongst men.

"With these sentiments they most earnestly beseech the Almighty God, who hath given to your Excellency those great endowments by which you have been already enabled to render such mighty services to the State, so to direct and govern all your undertakings that they may invariably conduce to the public good—that they may see Irishmen of all denominations united in the bonds of Allegiance, Christian Charity and Peace. So may your Excellency's public career continue prosperous, and your private hours be blest with unfading happiness."

LORD WELLESLEY'S ANSWER.

"I receive your congratulations with the cordiality and respect due to your character, conduct, and sacred functions. The propriety of your past demeanour attracted the condescending notice of our most gracious Sovereign; venerating his royal example, and obedient to his Majesty's instructions, I receive you here with a full confidence in your principles of affectionate loyalty towards your King, and steady obedience to the laws of the realm. The outrages committed in some districts of the country are abhorrent to the spirit and doctrine of every denomination of the Christian faith. Never did a period of time exist when the active exercise of your precepts and example was more necessary to teach the people that dutiful obedience to the law is inculcated by their religion and is essential to their present happiness and welfare. That your success may be equal to your honest zeal in the accomplishment of this salutary task, is my sincere wish and humble but earnest prayer. In me you will find a fixed disposition to administer the law to all his Majesty's faithful subjects of Ireland with a firm but even and temperate hand. On the part of our Sovereign and of the United Empire, I claim from all those subjects submission to lawful authority, as the first foundation of peace, concord, and social union."

MEETING OF CATHOLICS.

A numerous and highly respectable meeting of Roman Catholic gentlemen was held on the 7th of January (1822), at D'Arcy's Corn Exchange Tavern, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of presenting a congratulatory address to his Excellency the Marquess Wellesley. The Earl of Fingal presided on the occasion. Mr. O'Connell addressed the meeting in a speech of considerable length, in which he pronounced a high eulogium on his Excellency Marquess Wellesley, congratulating the country on the new prospects which were opening before it in consequence of his Majesty's gracious interference. He concluded by moving that a respectful address of congratulation should be presented to his Excellency. Mr. Shiel seconded the resolution, which, being put from the chair, was carried unanimously.

THE LORD MAYOR'S BANQUET.

A splendid banquet was given to the Lord-Lieutenant by the Lord Mayor on the 9th of January, attended by about one hundred and twenty persons of the first rank and character in the country. In returning thanks for the honour done to him, the Marquess Wellesley spoke as follows:—"I sincerely thank you for the honour you have done me, and I hope I *shall* merit it. That honour is considerably enhanced in my estimation by the gratifying sentiment with which you have accompanied it—the prosperity of my native country. Devoted as I am to this country, by affection, by interest, by the earliest attachment, I have ever endeavoured to promote the welfare and prosperity of Ireland. But, my Lord Mayor, by your association of that subject with my health, I conceive I am to understand *that* prosperity which you contemplate as the effect resulting from my administration of the Government of this country. In zeal, in anxiety, in diligence, I feel that I shall not be wanting. In my efforts to give effect to these my intentions, it is but natural that I should mainly rely on your coöperation. Upon the support of the learned of the land, of the noblemen and gentlemen who surround me, do I place my chief reliance to tranquillise the country, and cultivate its happiness. In affording me this desirable aid, I cannot too strongly inculcate upon your minds the necessity of promoting by every means in your power, those wise, those constitutional, those *truly loyal* principles conveyed in the admonition of our sacred and beloved Sovereign, when he was pleased to honour this country with his presence. His admonition points out to you a right rule of conduct; it breathes the spirit of my instructions, and it is the bounden duty of us all to revere and to cherish it. It is not by putting together phrases, or by mere effusion of sentiments that benefit can accrue to the country; but by the steady pursuit of conduct that has been recommended, and an earnest endeavour to conciliate our fellow-countrymen. These are the sentiments which I entertain, and having expressed them, I would beg leave to propose the health of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Dublin, and may they cultivate the affections of the people, and ever act in conformity to the wishes of their King."

The health of the Duke of Wellington having been proposed, the Marquess Wellesley rose and said:—

"My Lord Mayor. It would be disrespectful towards your Lordship—disrespectful to this company, if I presumed to offer you thanks for this toast. I offer you *no* thanks for it; but I must express the lively satisfaction I feel, that you recognise so sensibly the services rendered to your country by the Duke of Wellington—services rendered to it less by him, than the heroes who were his instruments in the performance of those great and transcendant services. If I had not the honour of being nearly allied to him, I should dwell upon all those actions of his life which shed such lustre on the name of our country. Do not suppose that I conceive you drink the Duke's health as a mere compliment to him or me. No. I take it, that in drinking it in the manner you have done, you do more honour to yourselves than to either of us. I take it as an evidence of your warm, strong, deep, unalienable attachment to your Sovereign and the Government. I take it as a generous expression of your approbation of the wise and glorious system of policy which has been pursued; and believe me, so far as the Duke of Wellington has been concerned, as one of the agents of that policy, he ascribes the principal share in his successes to the gallant heroes who fought with him. He ascribes least to himself, most to the Government, and the officers and men who have been the glorious instruments of his victories. I took the opportunity of rising, that I might assure you, with all the fervency of truth, that there does not exist on the face of the earth a man more warmly and firmly attached to, and proud of, his country, than the Duke of Wellington. All that has been said on that subject to the prejudice of the Duke—all the tales that have been whispered—all the statements that have been made, are calumnious, slanderous, and base. He knows—he feels that the greater part of his achievements have been accomplished by Irishmen—and he glories in the feeling. It is his peculiar pride to be an Irishman; and it is his proudest boast, that, in common with the brave of the other countries of the empire, his victories have been won by Irishmen—by heroes of this country. Let not the character of the Duke of Wellington be misconceived by a single man—let not one of his countrymen hold any other impression of him than those which I pledge my word to all around me he holds towards them."

These declarations of the sentiments of the new Lord-Lieutenant by no means met with universal approbation. The ascendent party saw that their system was menaced,—that their *monopoly* of power was about to be disturbed; and they prepared for a vigorous struggle, which led to many serious events that will be noticed hereafter.

A few days after the Marquess Wellesley's arrival in Dublin, a circumstance occurred which will tend to give the reader an idea of the intensity of that spirit of party and religious animosity blended, which then embittered Irish society. On the 15th of January, a meeting of the Guild of Merchants of the City of Dublin was held at the Shakspeare Gallery, Exchequer Street. At this meeting the names of Mr. Hugh O'Connor, of Mountjoy Square, and Mr. Francis Coad, of Townsend Street, were proposed as members. The proposition was received as an inroad upon the constitution of the country! and after a lengthened debate, the Guild divided, when there appeared for the admission 59, against it, 240. *These gentlemen were excluded solely on account of their religion;* no other objection was made to them; and the eloquence of Mr. Corry, Mr. Latouche, Mr. James Grattan, the Hon. F. Heley Hutchinson, and Lord Cloncurry, who advocated their admission, on the principles of common sense, was all expended in vain. The Earl of Donoughmore, who was prevented from attending the meeting, by the injunctions of the Surgeon-General (Mr. Crampton), addressed a letter to the Master of the Guild, in which his Lordship observed, "I cannot conceive the possibility of a perseverance in so very unsocial and unchristian a line of demarcation which some are supposed to have made—under the specious name of religion—to keep themselves in, and all others out of, the same Commercial Community." But his Lordship's expostulations were disregarded. Alderman Nugent congratulated the Guild on the result of the ballot. He said that the Protestants of Dublin had returned Mr. Ellis (who had opposed the admission of Roman Catholic merchants into the Guild) to Parliament as *their* representative; and he had that day proved himself worthy of the confidence they placed in him; he had supported the Constitution, and maintained the honour and character of the Guild.

While Ireland was in the fearful state already described, there were men who seemed disposed to employ every means to exasperate the mass of the people, and blow up a flame in the country. At the Sheriff, Sir Thomas Whelan's dinner, at Morrisson's Hotel, Dublin, on the 16th of January, 1822, that officer of justice proposed the well-known toast,—"The glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the great and good King William the Third." The toast was drunk with all the honours, the band playing a sanguinary party tune, the *First of July.*—"Alderman Nugent proposed the health of the Sheriff, Sir Thomas Whelan, for having given a toast which he hoped and trusted no man would ever forget. Those who have forsaken the standard of King William, will be sorry for it! The * * * * * if King William would n't be toasted throughout the land. [*Great tumult and some cries of* " *Oh, oh!*"]

"Strangers were here excluded." *

These lamentable displays of worse than useless party feeling were in direct opposition to His Majesty's parting recommendation that all topics of irritation should be avoided, and in contempt of the injunctions of the new Lord-Lieutenant; they produced a degree of excitement which it is difficult to conceive, without actual reference to the contemporary records of those unhappy times.

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* The meeting is thus reported in the Dublin prints.

CHAPTER XV.

The Marquess Wellesley appoints Mr. Plunkett (afterwards Lord Plunkett,) Attorney-General of Ireland, in the place of Mr. Saurin.—Manifesto from Mr. O'Connell, in which he alludes to the Appointment.—Urges the Catholics to greater Exertions and Self-reliance.—List of the Irish Government.—The Marquess Wellesley appoints Mr. Bushe Chief Justice of the King's Bench.—Observations on the Administration of Justice.—Mr. Goulburn described to the Committee of the House of Lords as a Member of the Orange Society.—Sir David Baird.—His Biographer again brings him into collision with the Marquess Wellesley.—Another Proof of the Inaccuracy of Hook's Statements on this Subject.—Strong Opinions of Sir David Baird in favour of Ascendency.—His Removal from the Office of Commander of the Forces in Ireland approved of by the Friends of Liberal Principles.—Anecdote of the Urbanity of the Marquess Wellesley.—Public Measures which soon engaged his Excellency's attention.

ONE of the first acts of the Marquess Wellesley's administration was, the appointment of Mr. Plunkett as Attorney-General in the place of Mr. Saurin. Mr. Saurin was distinguished for his violent antipathy to the Catholics;—Mr. Plunkett had for many years exerted all the powers of his splendid and imposing eloquence in advocating their emancipation; in the year previously (1821), he had addressed the House of Commons in one of the most effective speeches ever delivered on this eventful question in Parliament. A few days after this appointment, Mr. O'Connell issued a startling manifesto, headed with the motto, since rendered somewhat trite,—

> "Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not—
> Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow!"

He alluded to the advantage of "having one of the great law offices filled by an advocate of Emancipation, in place of its bitterest enemy;" but he added, "the tantalizing and bitter repetition of expectations raised only to be blasted, and prospects of success opened to close upon them in ten-fold darkness," warned the Catholics not to rely too much on the liberal intentions of the Marquess Wellesley.

The Irish Government now stood as follows:—

Marquess Wellesley,	*Lord-Lieutenant.*
Lord Manners,	*Lord Chancellor.*
Right Hon. Sir David Baird,	*Commander of the Forces.*
Right Hon. Henry Goulburn,	*Chief Secretary.*
Right Hon. Sir G. Fitzgerald Hill,	*Vice-Treasurer.*
Right Hon. W. C. Plunkett,	*Attorney-General.*
Charles Kendal Bushe, Esq.	*Solicitor-General.*

But although the Lord-Lieutenant and both the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General were favourable to a system of liberal politics, the Chief Secretary, the Lord Chancellor, and the Commander of the Forces were stedfast upholders of Protestant ascendency in Church and State. Under such circumstances, it was obvious that the Marquess Wellesley could not possibly carry out, as fully as he desired, his own views; and nothing but his undaunted resolution to put down obstacles and overcome difficulties could have enabled him to pursue steadily a course of wise and useful changes in the administration of the affairs of the country. Mr. Goulburn had, unfortunately, the reputation of being a member of the Orange Society;—and though he probably withdrew from it after the Law denounced Orange Lodges as illegal bodies, the mass of the people regarded this important public functionary as one of their *sworn* enemies.*

The retirement of Chief-Justice Downes, in the early part of the year, enabled the Lord-Lieutenant to elevate Mr. Bushe to the vacant seat in the Queen's Bench; and never did a more able or upright judge preside in that or any other court. The appointment was well calculated to inspire confidence in the administration of justice. It marked a new era,—when the King's Government announced that violent partizanship and indecent political zeal were no longer to be qualifications for the judicial office. One of the greatest practical evils that has retarded the improvement of Ireland has been the promotion of violent politicians, whose conduct has rendered them obnoxious to the country at large, to the dignity of judges. There is no blessing among those which the English people enjoy of more inestimable value than the purity, dignity, and learning of the judges of the land, unalloyed by the slightest display of personal petulance or party feeling. The Marquess Wellesley laid the foundation of a better state of things in Ireland; and the searching inquiry instituted by Mr. Brougham into the administration of law in that part of the kingdom had a most beneficial effect in curbing the exhibition of improper feelings on the judgment-seat.

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* Extract from the evidence of Mr. O'Connell before the Committee of the House of Lords, 1825:—

"Is not Mr. Goulburn called an Orangeman in Ireland?—Yes.

"Is it your impression that Mr. Goulburn actually is an Orangeman? —It is my opinion, certainly, that he is not at present; certainly not since the Act of Parliament.

"Or that he ever was?—I have heard from a person of high credit that Mr. Goulburn said in his presence that he had taken the Orange Oath."

The statements of Mr. Theodore Hook respecting the alleged conduct of the Marquess Wellesley in India to Sir David Baird, have, in previous parts of this work, been shown to be totally destitute of foundation. The assertions that the noble Marquess had endeavoured to obscure the fame of Baird, and failed to bring his conduct prominently into notice, have been refuted by the most direct and unimpeachable evidence.

We encounter Sir David Baird again, in Ireland: "To any person," observes Mr. Hook, "who reads, and certainly to the person who writes this memoir, nothing can appear more curious as a coincidence than the *frequent collisions on service* between Lord Wellesley and Sir David Baird. At the period of which we are now treating, a change of public affairs brought Lord Wellesley to Ireland as the successor of Earl Talbot in the high office of Lord-Lieutenant. His Excellency arrived in Dublin about the 30th of December, 1821; and Sir David Baird continued Commander of the Forces until the following June, when the anticipated reduction of the importance of the command was carried into effect upon a principle of economy;" which Mr. Hook adds "turned out, we believe, to be no economy at all."

Now, instead of going to Ireland for an argument in favour of his unfounded assertions respecting the *collisions* between the Marquess Wellesley and Sir David

Baird, if he had been disposed to make the smallest exertion to ascertain the facts of the case, he might have discovered there, even in the short interval between the 30th of December, 1821, and the 24th of June, 1822, a proof that his previous imputations upon Lord Wellesley were ungenerous and unjust.

At the grand dinner given by the Lord Mayor of Dublin to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, the following toast was proposed from the chair: "*The Commander of the Forces and Army serving in Ireland.*" The Marquess Wellesley begged to be allowed to annex to it that of "his very good friend who had rendered him the greatest service that had been accomplished during his administration in India." Sir David Baird acknowledged the compliment with much feeling. Did this seem as if the Marquess Wellesley were a niggard of his praise? and denied to the hero of Seringapatam "his honour's meed?" Notwithstanding the achievements of Lord Harris, Lord Lake, General Stuart, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, the Lord-Lieutenant, before the assembled nobility and gentry of Ireland, pronounced the achievement of Sir David Baird to be "the greatest service" rendered during his government of India!

But although Lord Wellesley was ready then, as he had been upon every occasion that presented itself from 1799 to 1822, to bear testimony to the heroism of Sir David Baird, His Excellency must have felt that the gallant General was not a proper coadjutor for him in the delicate task of governing Ireland. General Baird was what Mr. Hook calls a man of "sound constitutional principles," like Earl Talbot, opposed to Catholic emancipation, and utterly averse to "concession." "The opinions of Sir David Baird," says his biographer, "were strongly opposed to this principle; he felt, how truly and justly subsequent events have shown, that to yield one point, was only to encourage further demand. He was convinced that the boasted panacea would not tranquillise Ireland, while it must inevitably lead to an overthrow of the Established Church; and he proceeded to assume the command, firmly convinced in his own mind that things were gradually getting worse in that country, and the sooner the Government came to a stand the better."

It is quite plain that Sir David Baird (who was one of his Majesty's Privy Council in Ireland) was an upholder of the baneful party ascendency that pressed upon the vitals of the country; and his removal from the influential post of Commander-in-Chief was an intelligible notice that the sword of the executive was no longer to be unsheathed from its scabbard at the mere requisition of the ascendent party. The appointment of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, a brave soldier, who had served in India and Egypt, to the command of the Irish forces, gave general satisfaction. He appears to have kept aloof from politics, and to have discharged his official duties with discretion; he died but a few months after his nomination to this distinguished command.

The following anecdote illustrative of the urbanity of the Marquess Wellesley deserves to be recorded:—

Shortly after the Lord-Lieutenant's arrival in Dublin, Sir Stewart Bruce was commanded by the noble Marquess to announce his Excellency's intention of visiting the venerable Marquess of Drogheda. Lord Drogheda expressed, through Sir Stewart, the grateful impressions he held of his Excellency's condescension and friendship, but regretted that his infirmities placed him in circumstances not suitable to the reception of so distinguished a visitor. His Excellency was not, however, to be altogether disappointed in his generous intention, and pursued his object as far as possible by calling at the Marquess of Drogheda's house and *personally leaving his card.*

Lord Wellesley immediately turned his attention to the state of Ireland, and entered on many important reforms. His primary duty was the suppression of the Whiteboy insurrection then raging; but his Excellency, in a short period of time, was engaged with the following important topics:—

1. The establishment of a Police and constabulary force throughout Ireland.
2. The Revision of the Magistracy.
3. The Meeting of Magistrates in Petty Sessions.
4. Administration of Justice by Assistant Barristers.
5. The Composition for Tithes.
6. Change in the Appointment of Sheriffs.
7. Public Works undertaken by Government.
8. Alteration in the Distillery Laws.
9. Alterations in the mode of Collecting the Revenue.
10. The Remission of direct Taxes.
11. Repeal of the Union Duties.
12. Increased facility of Commercial intercourse.
13. Inquiry into the State of Education in Ireland.

At a meeting of the friends and admirers of the late Right Hon. Henry Grattan, convened for the purpose of taking measures for erecting a statue to the memory of that great man; the Chairman, the Earl of Meath, read the following letter from the Private Secretary of the Marquess Wellesley:—

"Phœnix Park, January 20th, 1822.

"Sir,

"The Lord-Lieutenant commands me to assure you that, having for many years, entertained the warmest sentiments of private friendship and personal attachment towards the late Mr. Grattan, as well as the greatest admiration of his splendid talents, and the strongest sense of his eminent services to Ireland and to the empire, his Excellency will most cordially unite with his fellow-countrymen in every testimony of respect, gratitude and affection which they may be disposed to pay to the memory of that illustrious statesman and patriot.

"His Excellency is, therefore, desirous that his name should be added to the distinguished list of those who have laudably encouraged this undertaking, so honourable to the character and feelings of Ireland. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

Edward S. Johnson."

"To James Corry, Esq., &c., Lurgan Street."

CHAPTER XVI.

The Marquess Wellesley desirous of Reconciling all Parties in Ireland. —Did not wish to transfer Discontent from the Catholic to the Protestant.—Note on the Importance of all Parties in Ireland uniting for the practical Improvement of the Country.—While Lord Wellesley discouraged the Orange Societies, he put down the Illegal Association of Ribbon-men.—He applies to Parliament for the Insurrection Act.—Vigorous Measures against the Whiteboys.—Crushes the Insurrection before the rising of Parliament.—Letter from the Commander of the Forces to Sir Herbert Taylor.—Letter of Mr. Plunkett to the Marquess Wellesley respecting the Secret Societies in Ireland.—Letter from the Lord-Lieutenant on the Improved State of the Country, the Police, and Magistracy, to the Right Hon. Robert Peel.—His Excellency promotes Economy in the Public Expenditure.

BUT although Lord Wellesley was determined to remove all the just causes of complaint which the Roman Catholics laboured under, he was equally resolved to secure to the Protestant population of Ireland those rights and that consideration, to which their numbers, their wealth, intelligence and loyalty, fairly entitled them. His Excellency put into practical operation the sentiments so ably expressed by him formerly, with Mr. Canning, in the year 1812 :—

" *They would think any adjustment very imperfect, which instead of extinguishing discontent, only transferred it from the Catholic to the Protestant.* But they concur in entertaining a confident belief that the great purpose for securing the peace of the empire, may be answered not by giving a triumph to any one party, but by reconciling ALL." *

While His Excellency discouraged the Orange Society, on the grounds that *all* societies organized for political purposes, employing secret oaths and signs, were hostile to the spirit of the British Constitution, and that associations based on the principle of religious exclusion, acted as deadly poison to the public happiness,—he did not fail to apply the same rules to the Society of Ribbonmen, founded by misguided members of the Roman Catholic body.

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* Nothing can be farther from the intention of the writer of these pages than to narrate the events of the Marquess Wellesley's government in Ireland in a manner calculated to excite party bitterness, or to afford one section of the Irish community a triumph over another.—His earnest desire is to see Irishmen of all sects practically exerting themselves in the development of the great resources of their common country, by the improvement of Agriculture, the advancement of great Public Works, the exploring the various coal, iron, and copper mines, and the improvement of their fine harbours;—to see kindly relations established between landlord and tenant—the owners of property honourably and earnestly exerting themselves to introduce habits of sober industry, regulated by improved skill, among their tenants, and acting universally on the great principle that "Property has its duties, as well as its rights." The union between the two countries, it ought not to be concealed, has not yet produced all the benefits which Mr. Pitt and the original promoters of that great measure anticipated from it. The dissensions of opposing parties, alone, prevent their realisation. Why, for example, is there no great naval arsenal in Ireland? Why are there no government dock-yards? Because the Irish people have never yet resolutely and unitedly joined to press the question on the legislature. Why has not an Irish harbour been selected, as the station for the West Indian and American packets? Why is it that spirits manufactured in Ireland are treated in England as the produce of a foreign country, and are subjected to a "protective" duty? Why is it that a native of Ireland or Scotland can obtain no legal settlement in a parish in England, even after a residence of twenty years? Because no vigorous effort has ever been made to show that these restrictions are inconsistent with the idea of a united Kingdom; and that the transfer of some of the great naval departments to Ireland would indissolubly cement the union between the two islands, by imparting to Ireland the benefits that would arise from the employment of a large number of artizans, and would at the same time instinctively lead the youth of the Irish seaports to look to her Majesty's naval service with enthusiasm and affection.

Lord Wellesley at once entered into an examination of the state of the country; and on the 5th of February, 1822, when Parliament assembled, both Houses immediately proceeded to take the affairs of Ireland into consideration. A series of dispatches from the Lord-Lieutenant were laid on the tables of the House of Commons, in which His Excellency gave an appalling description of the disturbed counties. "No additional military force," he remarked, "no improvement nor augmentation of the police, would now be effectual without the aid of the Insurrection Act; with that aid it appears to me to be rational to expect that tranquillity may be maintained, confirmed, and extended throughout Ireland."

On the 7th of February, Mr. J. Grattan, in the course of his speech on the disturbances in Ireland, described the country to be in such a state, as "that oaths were of little obligation, and human life of no value!" He took occasion to censure, in the strongest terms, the conduct of the magistracy respecting illicit distillation.—Sir Francis Burdett spoke of the sufferings and injustice under which the Irish population laboured, and complimented the Marquess Wellesley for his talents, liberality, and sympathy with the people.—Sir John Newport waived opposition to the bill, introduced with a view to the suppression of the insurrection, in consequence of his confidence in the Lord-Lieutenant.

The Hon. W. Lamb* and several other members of the Liberal party, supported the ministry on this occasion, and the Insurrection Act, and an Act suspending the Habeas Corpus Act were passed, after some little opposition, by Parliament. The Lord-Lieutenant took such prompt and decisive measures, that before the separation of Parliament, he was enabled to announce to the Houses, that the insurrection had been effectually crushed.

Several Ribbonmen were brought to trial, convicted, and severely punished; and an effectual blow was given to the system of administering Secret Oaths. The following letters will illustrate the lamentable state of Ireland at this period; and enable the reader to estimate correctly the importance of the great practical improvements effected during the seven eventful years that the Marquess Wellesley administered the government of the country:—

FROM THE COMMANDER OF THE FORCES TO SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

"Royal Hospital, Dublin, 24th June, 1822.

"SIR,

"Having, in obedience to his Majesty's orders, delivered over the command of the army, in Ireland, to Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, I feel anxious to submit to his Royal Highness a few brief observations on the state of the country at the moment of my departure from Dublin. Considering the agitation and alarm which prevailed generally towards the close of the last, and in the early part of the present, year, and in the character of open insurrection which the disorders had assumed in the south, it cannot but be a source of gratification to contemplate the tranquil state of the country at the present moment. No act of outrage worth recording has occurred since my Military Secretary addressed to you the usual confidential report at the commencement of June, and I trust the severe check and consequent lesson the disaffected have received, may serve to show them the danger of acting upon the distresses and prejudices of the peasantry, and of misleading them into schemes subversive of the government and public peace. In expressing this hope, I must, however, accompany it by my humble opinion, (founded on all the observations I have been able to make since my arrival in Ireland,) that the number of disaffected is very considerable, although they may be deficient in leaders of rank or influence; that they entertain designs hostile to the Government, and the present order of things; and that they act under the obligation of an oath which binds them to secrecy and mutual support. The number of arms which have been surrendered by the peasantry, will unfortunately justify a belief that there is no general disposition towards a final relinquishment of their designs. The distress for food arising principally from the want of means to purchase it, continues to prevail in various districts; and the late accounts from the south and west are of the most afflicting character. Colonel Patrickson, whose regiment (the 43rd) has lately relieved the 57th in Galway, reports the scenes which that town presents to be truly distressing. *Hundreds of half-famished wretches arrive almost daily from a distance of fifty miles; many of them so*

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* Lord Melbourne.

exhausted by want of food; that the means taken to restore them fail of effect from the weakness of the digestive organs, occasioned by long fasting.

"Every effort is making by the Government to alleviate this distress, and the liberality of individuals has been very praiseworthy;—in the work of benevolence the military have borne their share.*

"Although I have repeatedly had occasion to report favourably of the conduct of this army, yet I feel it to be a duty incumbent on me in quitting it, again to assure his Royal Highness that its conduct, whilst under my command, has been most exemplary and excellent. I have had reason to be fully satisfied with every department and branch of the service. The general officers, the heads of departments, and the staff, have supported me with zeal and intelligence; and the officers and troops in general, by their discipline, their temper, and their orderly conduct, have merited the esteem of the people amongst whom they are serving, and my best and warmest commendations. They have had harassing and painful duties to perform in the south, and the nature of the service generally in Ireland, exposes the military to many privations and much fatigue, and to a dispersion which, in a worse constituted army, would prove fatal to its discipline and character. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, D. BAIRD."

"Sir Herbert Taylor, &c."

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* Lord Wellesley adopted every possible measure to mitigate the horrors of the famine. His Lordship subscribed from his private purse the sum of 500*l*; Parliament granted 300,000*l*.; and subscriptions were raised in Great Britain to the amount of 350,000*l*.; the City of London taking the lead in the work of benevolence. The local subscriptions reached 150,000*l*.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ROBERT PEEL.

"Dublin Castle, November 26th, 1822.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to enclose, for the information of His Majesty's Government, a copy of a letter from the Attorney-General, together with an authentic report of the evidence taken on the late trials in Dublin, of several persons for the crimes of administering and taking unlawful oaths.

"I request your particular attention to that part of the letter of the Attorney-General, which recommends the extension of the provisions of the Act of the 39th of Geo. III. to Ireland; and I beg leave to express my entire concurrence in that recommendation, and to add my humble request, that the early attention of Parliament may be called to this measure, as being intimately connected with the means of checking the progress of the system of illegal associations in Ireland. I have the honour to be, &c. WELLESLEY."

"The Right Hon. Robert Peel, &c."

P.S.—These communications would have been forwarded sooner, but that considerable time was required for printing authentic copies of the evidence given on the trials.

MR. PLUNKETT TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"November 9th, 1822.

"MY LORD,

"Your Excellency will learn from the report of Mr. Greene,* who has taken a correct note of the evidence, the particulars of the late trials. I cannot, however, postpone my congratulations on the result, which I consider as likely not merely to give an immediate check to the spreading of the conspiracy, but as affording the reasonable expectation of its final suppression at no very distant period.

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* The present able and estimable Solicitor-General of Ireland is here referred to. Mr. Greene opened the pleadings in this important case.

"I fear that in five or six counties, great numbers, indeed, of the lower classes have been involved in it; some of them from a love of enterprise and ready disposition for mischief; some on a principle of counteraction to exclusive associations of an opposite description; but most of them, I should hope, from terror on the one hand, and the expectation of impunity on the other. This expectation must now be effectually removed; and the terror of the law will, I trust, soon be substituted in the place of the terror of the conspirators.

"I strongly incline to think that the course of proceeding, which, with your Excellency's sanction, I have adopted, has been the wisest that could, under all the circumstances, have been resorted to.

"A prosecution for high treason would have rested on an insecure foundation in law; its success would have been extremely doubtful with reference to the probable effect of the evidence; and to have been defeated in the attempt to establish such a charge, would have been injurious in a high degree. A charge for a traitorous conspiracy, would not have been liable to the same objections in law, but its success would in my opinion have been very doubtful; and even if convictions had been obtained, many persons would have doubted their justice, and the punishment would have been nothing beyond that of a misdemeanour ; whereas we now have seven convictions, drawing after them the sentences of transportation for life ; and one, that of transportation for seven years : and besides, every person must be entirely convinced that the crime alleged, was really committed, and that the evidence was in this respect perfectly true. Universal distrust is now spread amongst these people ; and by watching the occurrences at these meetings, and, perhaps, by a few additional convictions in some of the counties, into which the mischief had extended itself, I trust we may, without being too sanguine, look for a gradual return to quiet, and perhaps to better dispositions. At the same time I cannot but wish, that the provisions of the 39th of the late King were extended to this country ; under them we could transport for seven years, all who should be proved to be members of the association, without the necessity of establishing the fact of administering or taking the oath ; with such an instrument to work with, I should entertain a confident expectation of entirely subduing this offensive and disgusting conspiracy.

"Your Excellency will observe with regret, that the association has been founded on a principle of *religious exclusion.* It is, however, a matter of great satisfaction to know, that no person of any rank or consequence, or indeed of any respectable station in society, has joined in or countenanced it. The juries were sworn without any reference to religious persuasion ; a rule which I have uniformly observed, and in the consequences of which I have never been disappointed. I have, &c. (Signed) W. C. PLUNKETT."

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ROBERT PEEL.

"Phœnix Park, January 29th, 1823.

"Sir,

"A considerable time has elapsed since I have addressed to you a detailed report of outrages committed in the provinces of Ireland, according to the plan, which I pursued during the last winter and spring, of submitting periodical statements on that subject, for his Majesty's information.

"During the summer and the early part of the autumn of 1822, the measures sanctioned by Parliament, for the restoration of tranquillity, combined with other causes, had produced such a degree of quiet, that no necessity existed for my usual communications; and I entertained a hope, that I might have been able at this time to furnish a very favourable report of the actual state of the country; and that this winter would have passed without any material disturbance of the public tranquillity.

"Although events have happened in some of the provinces which have disappointed my expectations, I am happy to inform you, that the general condition of Ireland, with respect to internal tranquillity, is considerably ameliorated.

"In the county of Limerick, the principal seat of the late disturbances, my expectations have not been disappointed. The reports from the magistrates of that county present no aggravated cases of crime, but manifest indications of the decline of that system of illegal and secret combination, which originally led to open violence. Information is now more readily afforded; criminals are more easily detected; and the witnesses against them no longer entertain that extreme apprehension of danger which, during the early part of the year 1822, so universally and so justly prevailed.

"Limerick, therefore, has been restored to a state of tranquillity, and is now more exempt from crimes than other counties which have been deemed tranquil. The condition of Limerick, however, cannot justify the removal of any considerable portion of the force of the army or police, nor the suspension of the operation of the Insurrection Act.

"In the general conflict of political opinion, which is the prevalent character of Ireland, many persons declare the spirit of the people of Limerick to be unimproved, and attribute the existing tranquillity exclusively to the terror produced by the means employed for enforcing obedience to the law.

"But whatever may be the original cause of tranquillity, I do not apprehend that the county of Limerick will soon be disturbed again to any great degree. Under the protection of the law, lately enacted, an improved force of police has been established in the county; and the magistrates have incessantly laboured to improve the local administration of justice, and to give additional power to the laws, by a more vigorous and impartial administration of their provisions.

"If the protection now afforded be continued for a sufficient period of time to render the success of the plans of the original agitators hopeless and impracticable, the ordinary laws, under a just and pure administration, may be found amply sufficient for the preservation of the public peace in that county.

"It is impossible not to contemplate the improved condition of the county of Limerick with a degree of satisfaction, not confined to the limits of that district, but opening to us a prospect of similar and more extensive benefits, through the introduction of similar improvements in other parts of Ireland. Nor can I withhold the testimony of my most cordial approbation of the merits of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and magistrates of Limerick, in enabling the Government to lay the foundations of this great and auspicious work, by which the main source of disorder and lawless violence has been rendered an example of tranquillity and of due administration of justice. In the advance which has been made towards this salutary reform, the services of Mr. Serjeant Torrens have been most essentially useful; nor is it possible for me to express in terms of too warm commendation, my grateful sense of his judicious, humane, and active exertions.

"The county of Clare has generally been exempt, until lately, from outrage of a serious or insurrectionary character.

"At the end of November, however, a disposition to disturbance began to appear in Clare, by notices on the subject of tithes,* by punishing persons engaged in

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* Mr. Thomas Moore about this time published his well known performance, "Capt. Rock," in which he traces, with as much wit as truth, the disturbances that then convulsed Ireland, to the tithe system administered by rapacious proctors:—

"As long as Popish spade and Scythe
Shall cut and dig the Sassanach tithe,

the collection of them, and by a violent attack on (Mr. M'Culloch) a clergyman, whose life was seriously endangered by the injuries which he suffered.

"To such an extent had crime prevailed in the barony of Tulla, that the magistrates had anticipated the necessity of requiring the application of the provisions of the Insurrection Act.

"Serious outrage, however, has been principally confined to the proclaimed districts of the county of Cork, and of Tipperary.

"At the close of the harvest, a general disposition was manifested in those districts to invade the property of the clergy, and of others deriving an income from tithe.

"The system of notices (not applied, as formerly, to rents and tithes) was confined to tithes; and these notices were followed by acts of outrage, differing from those in the last year, both in character and object.

"Tithe property, whether in the hands of laymen or ecclesiastics, was the object of attack; and the means usually employed, destruction by fire. During the latter part of September, few nights passed without the destruction by fire, of some building, haggard or stacks of tithe corn, in the proclaimed baronies in the

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And Popish purses pay the tolls
On Heaven's road for Sassanachs' souls,
So long the merry reign shall be
Of 'Captain Rock' and his family."

A pamphlet published A. D. 1657, by Anthony Pearson, Esq., a justice of peace in Westmoreland, in the time of the Commonwealth, contains many arguments on the subject of tithes, that are worth the consideration of those who would legislate on this embarrassing subject. It is entitled "The great case of Tithes truly stated, clearly opened, and fully resolved."

county of Cork. The same system has continued in those baronies, with some abatement, to the present time.

"It is a curious circumstance, however, in the character of these transactions, that, in several instances, the grain had been artfully separated from the straw, and had been sold, by the proprietor of the stacks, for its full value; and that the same proprietor had destroyed the stacks of straw by fire, with a view of recovering from the barony the full value of the corn already sold. These cases were not unfrequent.

"The incendiary was of course undiscoverable. The fact of such numerous and secret conflagrations was alleged to be an indisputable proof of general combination, until the vigilance of the military and police actually detected a considerable number of the stacks of straw, cleared of the grain, and prepared for the fire; and thus discovered the whole mystery of this double fraud.

"By the activity of the troops and of the police, the number of the conflagrations has been gradually reduced; several instances, however, of that outrage occurred during the last week in one barony.

"While these lawless outrages have been directed against tithe property, the former system of robbing houses for arms, has not been altogether abandoned. Attempts to destroy persons obnoxious to the insurgents, on account of information given, or of a refusal to obey their commands, have been renewed; but these robberies have not been frequent, and have appeared rather subsidiary to the attainment of other objects, connected with the destruction of the property of the Church.

"In the course of November, the system extended itself to the barony adjoining those originally proclaimed, to such an extent, as to require the application of the provisions of the Peace Preservation Bill.

"Instances also have occurred of similar outrages against tithe property, in parts of the county of Cork, more remote from the baronies in which the spirit of violence originally appeared. There is reason to believe, that in some of these cases the outrages have been perpetrated by persons detached for the special purposes from the disturbed baronies; and even in the parts of the country where the outrages have most prevailed, they have seldom been conducted by persons of the immediate neighbourhood, with the exception of the cases of fraud already described.

"In Tipperary a similar system commenced, though in a mitigated degree. During the latter part of September and the month of October some destructions of property by fire occurred; notices were posted, and some attacks were made for the purpose of procuring arms. The progress of disturbance appeared so rapid to some persons as to induce the magistrates, assembled at a special session, to request an extension of the Insurrection Act to a barony to which it had not been previously applied.

"The request having been received on the eve of the proclamation for carrying into effect, in that county, the new system of police, it was thought advisable to withhold the application of the Insurrection Act, until the effect of the new system of police had been ascertained by experiment.

"Many crimes have since been committed in the county of Tipperary, but not generally of the former insurrectionary character.

"The districts of the King's and Queen's counties, bordering on Tipperary, have been affected by similar disorder; property has been destroyed by fire; and in some places great apprehensions have existed of the disturbance of tranquillity. The establishment of an effective police, under the Act of the last Session, in both these counties, will probably reduce the spirit of outrage within narrower limits, and, it may be hoped, will ultimately extinguish it.

"In the county of Roscommon, notices of an inflammatory and threatening character, during the winter, have been generally circulated.

"Outrages have at intervals been committed of an aggravated nature, some partaking of the character of those now prevailing in certain districts of the county of Cork, and others more connected with the general disturbances of the last year; but, in consequence of the exertions of the police, the outrages in Roscommon have not attained any alarming height.

"Some disturbance has also occurred in the counties of Kildare and Westmeath. It has been met in both instances by an extension of the Peace Preservation Act to additional baronies.

"The province of Ulster maintains its tranquillity. From many quarters information has been received of an increased activity in the swearing of Ribbonmen; and, in some instances, meetings have been held, which have terminated in serious affrays; but, with the exception of these riotous proceedings, the peace of the province has been generally preserved by the exertions of the gentry and magistrates. This general view of the state of Ireland certainly exhibits a scene of improved tranquillity, compared with the corresponding period of the last year.

"Numerous crimes are recorded in the reports of the several magistrates; but they have not been so frequent, and generally not of so sanguinary a character, and not so strongly marked by a systematic resistance of authority. The fear of the law appears, in many instances, to have superseded the dread of lawless vengeance. Difficulties of procuring evidence of crimes, committed even in the presence of many witnesses, still exist; but those difficulties are neither so great nor so general as in the former periods of time. The execution of some individuals for the murder of a crown-witness at Limerick has given confidence to the well-affected; and has created a general impression, that the law is able to avenge and to protect those who assist in its due administration. On the other hand, in most of the lately disturbed districts, a general distrust of each other, has been diffused amongst the authors and agents of violence and disorder; and a general terror exists of the peril of extensive combinations of insurrection. This alarm has certainly arisen from the more vigorous and, at the same time, impartial administration of the law.

"Undoubtedly, throughout the whole country, a general disposition prevails to invade the property of the clergy, to resist the payment of tithes; and to resort to every means of defeating all demands of the Church. This may be partly attributed to the difficulties of the times, partly to the spirit of resisting lawful authority, which has been so sedulously encouraged. While this spirit shall continue to break forth in outrages of the nature now prevailing in some districts of Cork, and in other places; while these outrages shall be committed by combinations of persons not immediately connected with the actual scene of mischief, but traversing the country at night, in gangs of incendiaries; prudence must forbid the relaxation of those extraordinary powers which Parliament considered to be necessary for the preservation of the peace of Ireland; and which, duly exercised, have already contributed to produce whatever improvement has been effected in the general state of the country.

"Among the causes of public amelioration which have commenced to operate in Ireland, the Act of the last session of Parliament for *the improvement of the Police* demands particular notice.

"The introduction of the improved system of Police has been accomplished gradually, and with general good will and temper in several counties.

"The magistrates have cheerfully coöperated in giving effect to this great and salutary alteration in the internal government of Ireland.

"It would neither be prudent nor just to precipitate the extension of so considerable a change of system; the beneficial progress of which might be frustrated, but could not be accelerated by a premature effort to force its universal application.

"In some districts the practical benefits of the system itself, have already commenced their operation. It would, however, be as vain and presumptuous to expect instantaneously the full advantages of such a change, as it would have been rash to hasten its introduction. The course of time, the steady perseverance of the Government, and the progressive confidence of the gentry and magistracy may be expected to mature and perfect the good fruits of this wise and useful law, wherever it has been applied; until a general sense and view of its happy consequences shall sanction its general extension.

"In the mean while it is highly satisfactory to observe, that the early appearances of this plan bear an aspect so favourable and hopeful.

"Similar observations occur with respect to the *revision of the Commission of the Peace.* No reasonable mind could expect that so invidious a task could be attempted without occasioning partial discontent; or that a work so difficult and complicated could at once be accomplished and displayed in complete perfection. The experience of all practical government, the rules of all political wisdom would naturally suggest that such a revision could not be perfect in its first effort; and must require frequent and careful reconsideration, before its advantages could be entirely realized.

"Accordingly, complaints have arisen with respect to the most delicate and arduous considerations in the progress of this necessary reform; attention has been paid to these complaints, wherever it has been deemed consistent with the principles of the intended improvement; and I have no reason to doubt, that the Commission of the Peace will be the object of constant vigilance and care, until the beneficial views of his Majesty's Government shall be accomplished to the utmost practical extent in the general improvement of the Magistracy of Ireland.

"In some counties the reform is already nearly complete, and generally satisfactory; while throughout Ireland, the mere knowledge of the existence of a plan of revision has produced salutary consequences, by increasing the diligence, accuracy, and careful conduct of the Magistrates, and by a more effectual and more pure administration of the law.

"*The useful practice of assembling frequently and regularly in petty sessions, has been introduced into some counties; and the dangerous habit of administering justice, by separate magistrates, at their respective residences, is gradually subsiding.*

"I have given every encouragement to the extension of the system of holding petty sessions; and at one moment I contemplated the propriety of suggesting a law on the subject. But having reason to believe that the magistracy is generally disposed to adopt the practice by voluntary regulation, I prefer the experiment of their own uncontrolled good will, until I can ascertain by tract of time, whether the addition of legal rule may be necessary to stimulate their exertions.

"From the statement of facts contained in this dispatch, and from the observations which I have submitted to you, it will appear that the general condition of Ireland, with regard to the internal tranquillity of the provinces, is considerably improved since the last winter. That the appearance of systematic disturbance is confined to a few districts on the north-western boundary of the county of Cork; and that even in those districts, no insurrectionary combination has been manifested; but that a most outrageous attack has been made upon the system of tithes, and upon the rights and property of the Church, with reference to that system.

"That a considerable improvement has been effected in the administration of the law within the districts which had been disturbed; and that it is reasonable to expect increased vigour and purity in that administration. That the new police has been introduced into the lately disturbed districts, and into others, with general approbation, with the cordial and effective coöperation of the magistrates, and, in many instances, with great success in the detection of crime, the speedy apprehension of offenders, and the maintenance of public peace.

"*That the revision of magistracy is proceeding regularly, and that the general conduct of the magistrates in establishing frequent petty sessions, and other useful regulations, affords just reason to expect a progressive improvement in the magistracy of Ireland.*

"I have not referred in this dispatch *to the dangerous system of associations under the obligation of secret and mysterious oaths.* Having some time since submitted to you a separate dispatch relative to the trial and conviction of several persons denominated Ribbonmen, I added to that dispatch some observations, suggesting the necessity of strengthening the law of Ireland against the peril of those societies.

"The question of the increase or diminution of the spirit of this association is stated differently, according to the particular views, imaginary interests, and flagrant zeal of conflicting parties.

"In this contention, (ludicrous in principle and theory, but mischievous to the state in practice,) it is at least an advantage to the King's Government to have completely detected, and publicly exposed, the whole craft and mystery of the Ribbon conspiracy. And I cannot believe that such an exposure, accompanied by such convictions, sentences, and punishments, should neither assuage the zeal, nor abate the bravery of these covenanters, nor relax the holy bond of their illegal oaths, and treasonable contract.

"*But I request your attention to the suggestions which I have submitted for the more effectual restraint of this system of mysterious engagements, formed under the solemnity of secret oaths, binding his Majesty's liege subjects to act under authorities not known to the law, nor derived from the state, for purposes undefined, not disclosed in the first process of initiation, nor until the infatuated novice has been sworn to the vow of unlimited and lawless obedience.*

"The vigour and activity of the law should be exerted to extirpate this mischief, which has been a main cause of the disturbances and miseries of Ireland. The mystery is now distinctly exposed; I, therefore, anxiously hope and trust that his Majesty's Government will add to the various benefits which they have already imparted to this country, the inestimable favour of abolishing by law, in Ireland, an evil, which has been abolished by law in England. I have, &c.,

"WELLESLEY."

"P.S. In examining this dispatch, I perceive, that although the necessity of continuing the Insurrection

Act is repeatedly to be inferred from the tenor of the facts and observations stated, I have not directly recommended that measure; I request his Majesty's Government to understand that I consider the renewal of the Insurrection Act for another year to be indispensably requisite, not only for the preservation of tranquillity in Ireland, but for the success of all those plans of improvement which may be expected, ultimately, to render the Insurrection Act unnecessary."

The Lord-Lieutenant's efforts to promote the cause of good government in Ireland, were most favourably noticed by the leading London Journals.

Referring to the Marquess Wellesley's expressed determination to pursue a course of Economy in the administration of the Irish Government, it was remarked.—"His Lordship's expression when he condemned the extravagance of the ministerial estimates for a peace establishment, was strong and memorable,—'Parsimony is the panoply of Peace!' Our readers will see with pleasure the correspondence which exists between the former language of the noble Marquess and the principles which he still professes."*

The Marquess Wellesley, it was observed by a contemporary publication, "has commenced a reform of the Irish Magistracy, by striking out of the Commission of the Peace, the names of several hundreds of Noblemen, Officers, Clergymen, and Esquires, who are too much infected with the spirit of party."†

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* *The Times*, A. D. 1822.

† *The Examiner*, A. D. 1823.

The press teemed with pamphlets on the policy of the new Government; and in some of them, as might have been anticipated, His Excellency's proceedings were severely criticised. One writer expresses the following opinion of his Constabulary Bill :—

"The consequences of the Marquess Wellesley's Police Act, may therefore be summed up thus: to disgust many of the most respectable men in the country, to augment the number of absentees, to supersede some valuable magistrates, to prevent the possibility of some counties ever possessing an efficient independent magistracy, or constitutional police, to cover those counties with an armed standing force, under leaders appointed by, and removable at the pleasure of the Viceroy, and finally to present the curious anomaly of a country under the superintendence in the one half of a civil, in the other of a permanent military police."

These fears, however, have not been realised. The Irish Constabulary, it is believed, are now generally regarded as an efficient and useful body. There are many objections, however, to their carrying military weapons at all times; and it would be a most important improvement to *assimilate the dress and discipline of the force as much as possible to those of the London Police.* In cities and towns, this might be done at once without hazard.

CHAPTER XVII.

Anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne.—Determination of the Orange Party to decorate the Statue of King William III.—Mr. O'Connell publicly addresses Lord Wellesley on the subject.—Riot on the 12th of July.—The Orangemen prepare for another Demonstration on the 4th of November.—The Lord Mayor issues a Proclamation against the Meeting.—The Corporation pass a Vote of Censure on the Lord Mayor, and declare their Intention to disregard the Proclamation.—Proceedings on the 4th of November.—Dreadful Riots which last for three Days.—Lord Wellesley's Visit to the Theatre Royal.—Publicly Insulted and Attacked with Missiles.—Narrow escape from instant Death. —Violent Uproar.—Informations of the Attorney-General against Parties charged as Principals in the Riot.—The Grand Jury Ignore the Bills of Indictment.—Public Addresses to the Lord-Lieutenant congratulating him on his Providential Escape.—Letters of Col. Shawe to the Marquess Wellesley.—Opinions of the Right Hon. Robert Peel at this period.

On the approach of the 12th of July, the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, much interest was felt respecting the proceedings of the Orangemen, who, on that day, were accustomed to make idle and offensive party displays. It was hoped that the advice of his Majesty King George the Fourth, and the well-known sentiments of the Lord-Lieutenant would, in some measure, check demonstrations in commemoration of a *civil war*, which tended to disturb the public peace and keep alive those malign feelings of sectarian animosity which opposed insuperable obstacles to the improvement of the country. The Orangemen, however, resolved to make a trial of their strength, and publicly declared their resolution to decorate the statue of King William with orange ribbons &c., according to their usual practice under the government of the Marquess Wellesley's predecessors. Mr. O'Connell now addressed a letter to the Lord-Lieutenant, in the newspapers, calling upon his Excellency to issue orders to prohibit the decoration of the statue. No orders were issued; Lord Wellesley appears to have been desirous of seeing what course the Orangemen would, of their own accord, pursue; and the publication of Mr. O'Connell's letter, if there had been no other restraining motive, would, probably, have induced his Excellency to withhold such orders; for had he issued them, he would at once have been represented as having acted *in consequence* of the requisition of the Catholic leader. An information before the Lord Mayor, or a private memorial to the head of the Executive Government, would have effectually drawn attention to the necessity of preventing the intended display; but a public manifesto on the subject seemed to be designed to place an alternative before Lord Wellesley,—if he remained passive, to create the impression that he dared not interfere with the proceedings of the Orangemen,—if he interfered actively, to lay himself open to the imputation of having acted under the constraining influence of their opponents.

The 12th of July was as usual a day of commotion in the Irish metropolis; the statue was dressed by one mob and stript of its decorations by another;—after the usual songs, scuffles and maledictions, the affair passed off without any extraordinary event.

Lord Wellesley having found that no deference was paid either to his wishes or to those of the Sovereign, resolved to put down by the strong arm of authority all such displays for the future. The 4th of November was the anniversary of "the never-to-be-too-often-celebrated hero," King William the Third, and the *alumni* of the University* and the elders of the Orange Institute looked forward to another gala-day. On the 31st of October, however, the following proclamation made its appearance :—

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD MAYOR OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN.

PROCLAMATION.

'JOHN SMITH FLEMING.

"Whereas the decoration of the statue of King William, in College-Green, has been for some time past, the occasion of dissension and animosities amongst the inhabitants of Dublin, and, in many instances, productive of violations of the public peace; and, whereas it appears by information upon oath, that in consequence of the decoration of the said statue on the 12th day of July last, a tumultuous mob assembled in the early part of the night of the said day, and continued in a state of riot and disturbance of the public peace for some hours, during which period several of his Majesty's subjects received, in consequence thereof, serious bodily injuries, and the inhabitants of College-Green, and its vicinity, were kept in a state of great apprehension and alarm. And, whereas it further appears by the said information upon oath, that there is reason to believe that there will be a repetition of the like disturbances, if the said statue shall be decorated upon the approaching anniversaries on the fourth and fifth days of November next:

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* Orange Lodges were then permitted to exist in the University.

"Now I, the said Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin do hereby give notice, that, as Chief Magistrate of this City, I shall feel it my bounden duty to guard, as far as I possibly can, against the recurrence of similar disorders and infractions of the public peace, and for that purpose to prevent, by all legal means in my power, the decoration of the said statue, or the affixing thereto any emblem, ornament, or device whatever, with a view to the said approaching anniversaries, and to bring to public justice all offenders in that respect. And I do most confidently hope that all the loyal, peaceable, and well disposed of my fellow-citizens will concur in giving effect to this my proclamation.

"And I do further hope, that in thus following the wise and benignant instructions of his Majesty, and avoiding the cause of irritation, we shall set an example which, by uniting all classes in support of his Majesty's Government, may restore the public tranquillity, redeem the character, and promote the prosperity of the country in general. Given at the Mansion House, this 31st day of October, 1822. By Order,

"A. Taylor, Sec."

It will almost appear incredible at this day, when happily these tempestuous passions and violent prejudices have subsided, that this order from the Chief Magistrate of Dublin, was not only disobeyed, but treated as an inroad upon the Constitution of the Empire! On the 2nd of November, a meeting of the Common Council of the Metropolis took place, and a vote of censure was passed on the Lord Mayor, for having issued the proclamation; the majority pledging themselves to decorate the statue! A party who had always professed obedience to the laws, now prepared at all hazards to defy the proclamation. The morning of the 4th of November arrived, and the dawning light discovered a body of police drawn around the statue of King William, in College Green; while a horse patrol moved slowly about it. The Orange party confident that they possessed the secret sympathy of the guard, advanced to the charge—the Catholics joined in the fray, and a desperate riot ensued. For two days Dublin was traversed by angry mobs; by one the windows of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin,* who had aroused the embers of bigotry by a recent charge, were demolished; by another, the residence of the Lord Mayor was treated with similar indignity. Some of the populace received bayonet wounds; and several were seriously injured. On the third day, a final attempt was made to decorate the statue; but an active force having been called out, the attempt was foiled, and quietness was, in some measure, restored.

The Lord-Lieutenant expressed his approbation of the Lord Mayor's conduct through the Chief Secretary:—

"Dublin Castle, November 21st, 1822.

"My Lord,

"I am commanded by the Lord-Lieutenant to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's communications, stating the events which occurred in the City of Dublin, respecting the decoration of the statue of King William, and referring to the measures adopted by your Lordship, under His Excellency's instructions, for maintaining the public peace.

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* Dr. Magee, the predecessor of the enlightened prelate who at present adorns the Archiepiscopal See of Dublin.

"The Lord-Lieutenant has commanded me to express his entire approbation of the judgment, firmness, and temper, with which your Lordship has discharged a duty rendered difficult and invidious by the peculiar circumstances of the moment.

"The gratification which His Excellency has derived from your Lordship's conduct on this occasion, is much enhanced by the confidence which it inspires, that your Lordship will continue to administer your high functions in such a manner, as to remove every just cause of dissatisfaction and irritation which can affect the peace of the city, or disturb the comfort and mutual good will of the citizens of Dublin.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,
HENRY GOULBOURN.

"To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, &c."

Such was the excited state of public feeling in Ireland at this time, that Mr. Goulbourn's letter, which seems to have been demanded by every sense of public duty, was regarded as nothing but a wanton insult to, what were termed, Protestant principles.

In the following month an event occurred which marks still more strongly the vehemence of the passions that then raged in the breasts of the opponents of a more liberal and equitable order of things.

The Marquess Wellesley resolved to attend the performance at the Theatre-Royal, Hawkins's Street. His Excellency went in state, and was accompanied by a numerous suite. He was received with mingled cheers, groans and hisses; and it was evident that the night would end in a storm. On His Excellency's rising while the band played "God save the King," several missiles were thrown into the Vice-Regal box; and a large quart-bottle was flung from the gallery at Lord Wellesley's head. It providentially missed its mark, but glanced close to his face. It would very probably have killed him on the spot, had it struck his head, considering the weight of the bottle and the height from which it descended. The House was in confusion; the performance was stopped, and several gentlemen exerted themselves to arrest the ruffians who had been guilty of this disloyal and dastardly outrage,—in which it is proper to add not more than thirty persons were concerned.

The whole circumstance will, however, be best narrated by His Majesty's Attorney-General in the following document, copied from the original papers:—

INFORMATION.

"As of Hilary Term, in the third year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Fourth, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith and so forth, and in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three.

"The Right Hon. William Conyngham Plunkett, Attorney-General of our Lord the now King, who, for our said Lord the King in this behalf, prosecutes in his proper person, comes here into the Court of our said Lord the King, before the King himself, on the twentieth day of January, in this term, and for our said Lord the King, gives the Court here to understand and be informed, that on the fourteenth day of December, in the third year of the reign of our Lord the now King, and long before, at Hawkins's-street, in the county of the city of Dublin, there was a certain theatre called the Theatre Royal, and that on the said fourteenth day of December, in the said third year of the reign of our said Lord the King, at Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, a certain play was appointed to be presented and acted on that day, at and in the said theatre, according to public notice thereof in that behalf given; and that the Most Noble Richard Marquess Wellesley, Lord-Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland, on the said fourteenth day of December, in the said third year of the reign of our said Lord the King, at Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, intended to be present at the said presentation of the said play, in the said theatre, according to public notice of such intention in that behalf given: And the said Attorney-General for our said Lord the King farther gives the Court here to understand and be informed, that James Forbes, late of Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, gentleman; George Graham, late of Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, yeoman; William Graham, late of Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of

Dublin aforesaid, yeoman; Henry Handwich, late of Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, yeoman, otherwise called Henry Handbridge; Mathew Handwich, late of Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, yeoman, otherwise called Mathew Handbridge; Robert Fletcher the younger, late of Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, yeoman; Thomas Kelly, late of Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, yeoman; William Brownlow, late of Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, gentleman; Richard M'Intosh, late of Hawkins's-street, aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, gentleman; William Heron, late of Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, gentleman; and William M'Cullagh, late of Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, gentleman, and divers other persons to the said Attorney-General unknown, well knowing the premises, but being wicked and ill-disposed persons, on the said fourteenth day of December, in the said third year of the reign of our said Lord the King, at Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, with force and arms wickedly and maliciously did meet, conspire, combine, confederate and agree together, and to and with each other unlawfully, riotously and routously to make and raise, and to cause and to procure to be made and raised, a great noise, tumult, riot and disturbance in the said theatre, while the said Lord-Lieutenant should be so present therein, and wickedly, unlawfully, riotously and routously to hiss, groan, insult and assault, and to cause and procure to be hissed, groaned, insulted and assaulted, the said Lord-Lieutenant in the said theatre, while he should be so present therein as aforesaid :

"And the said Attorney-General for our said Lord the King, further gives the Court here to understand and be informed, that the said James Forbes, George Graham, William Graham, Henry Handwich, otherwise called Henry Handbridge, Mathew Handwich, otherwise called Mathew Handbridge, Robert Fletcher the younger, Thomas Kelly, William Brownlow, Richard M'Intosh, William M'Cullagh, and William Heron, and the said other persons to the said Attorney-General unknown, afterwards and before the presentation of the said play, to wit, on the said fourteenth day of December, in the said third year of the reign of our said Lord the King, at Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, in presence of and according to the said conspiracy, combination, confederacy, and agreement, unlawfully and wickedly did make, write, print and prepare, and did cause and procure to be made, written, printed and prepared, divers, to wit, three thousand papers, on some of which, to wit, on one thousand thereof, were written and printed the words, '*No Popery;*' and on others of which, to wit other one thousand thereof, were written and printed these words following, to wit, '*The Protestants want Talbot, as the Papists have got all but!!!*' and '*Fleming, though he has the mace, may find it hard to keep his place,*' '*Gabbett's Digest;*' and on others, to wit, other one thousand thereof, were written and printed the words following, of and concerning the said Most Noble Richard Marquess Wellesley, then and now Lord-Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland, that is to say, '*Ex-Governor of the Bantams shall change his Morning ton—e;*' with intent and in order to publish, disperse, and scatter the said papers, so having the said words so written and printed thereon respectively in the said theatre, to and amongst divers of the liege subjects of our Lord the King, who should be present therein during the said presentation of the said play, and thereby to excite and cause to be made a great noise, riot, rout, tumult, and disturbance therein: and the said Attorney-General for our said Lord the King, doth further give the Court here to understand and be informed, that the said James Forbes, George Graham, William Graham, Henry Handwich, otherwise called Henry Handbridge, Mathew Handwich, otherwise called Mathew Handbridge, Robert Fletcher the younger, Thomas Kelly, William Brownlow, Richard M'Intosh, William M'Cullagh, and William Heron, and the said other persons aforesaid to the said Attorney-General unknown; further in pursuance of and according to the said conspiracy, combination, confederacy and agreement, afterwards and before the presentation of the said play, to wit on the said fourteenth day of December, in the said third year of the reign of our said Lord the King, at Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, wickedly and maliciously did buy, purchase, and procure, divers to wit, one hundred tickets for admission into the said theatre, with intent and in order that they and other ill-disposed persons should thereby gain admittance into the said theatre, and should be present therein during the said presentation of the said play, and while the said Lord-Lieutenant should be so present in the said theatre, and should then and there make a great riot, noise, and disturbance therein: and the said Attorney-General for our said Lord the King, doth further give the Court here to understand and be informed, that the said James Forbes, George Graham, William Graham, Henry Handwich, otherwise called Henry Handbridge, Mathew Handwich, otherwise called Mathew Handbridge, Robert Fletcher the younger, Thomas Kelly, William Brownlow, Richard M'Intosh, William M'Cullagh and William Heron, and the other persons aforesaid to the said Attorney-General unknown, further in pursuance of and according to the said conspiracy, combination, confederacy and agreement, afterwards, to wit, on the said fourteenth day of December, in the said third year of the reign of our said Lord the now King, at Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, wickedly and maliciously did assemble themselves together in the said theatre, and were present therein during the presentation of the said play, and that the said Most Noble Richard Marquess Wellesley, now Lord-Lieutenant as aforesaid, then and there was present at and during the presentation of the said play, and that the said James Forbes, George Graham, William Graham, Henry Handwich, otherwise called Henry Handbridge, Mathew Handwich, otherwise called Mathew Handbridge, Robert Fletcher the younger, Thomas Kelly, William Brownlow, Richard M'Intosh, William M'Cullagh, and William Heron, further in pursuance of and according to the said conspiracy, combination, confederacy and agreement, then and there in the said theatre, and while the said Lord-Lieutenant was so present therein, wickedly and maliciously did publish, circulate, disperse, and scatter the said several papers, so having the said words so written and printed thereon respectively as aforesaid, to and amongst divers liege subjects of our said Lord the King then and there present, in order to excite the said liege subjects to make a great riot, noise, and disturbance therein, in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws, to the evil example of all others in like cases offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity: And the said Attorney-General for our said Lord the King, doth further give the Court here to understand and be informed, that on the said fourteenth day of December, in the said third year of the reign of our said Lord the King, at Hawkins's-street aforesaid in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, there was a certain theatre called the Theatre Royal, and that a certain play was then and there presented and acted in the said theatre, and that the Most Noble Richard Marquess Wellesley, Lord-Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland, then and there was present in the said theatre at the presentation and acting of the said play, and that the said James Forbes, George Graham, William Graham, Henry Handwich, otherwise called Henry Handbridge, Mathew Handwich, otherwise called Mathew Handbridge, Robert Fletcher the younger, Thomas Kelly, William Brownlow, Richard M'Intosh, William M'Cullagh, and William Heron, and divers other persons to the said Attorney-General unknown, then and there well knowing and seeing that the said Lord-Lieutenant was so then and there present in the said theatre, but being wicked and ill-disposed persons, then and there with force and arms, wickedly and maliciously did conspire, combine, confederate and agree together, and to and with each other, unlawfully, wickedly, riotously, and routously to make and raise, and cause and procure to be made and raised, a great noise, riot, tumult, and disturbance in the said theatre, while the said Lord-Lieutenant should remain so present therein, and then and there wickedly, unlawfully, riotously and routously, to hiss, groan, insult and assault, and to cause and procure to be hissed, groaned, insulted and assaulted, the said Lord-Lieutenant, while he should remain so there present in the said theatre.

"And the said Attorney-General, for our said Lord the King, doth further give the Court here to understand and be informed, that the said James Forbes, George Graham, William Graham, Henry Handwich, otherwise called Henry Handbridge, Mathew Handwich, otherwise called Mathew Handbridge, Robert Fletcher the younger, Thomas Kelly, William Brownlow, Richard M'Intosh, William M'Cullagh, and William Heron, and the said other persons last mentioned, to the said Attorney-General unknown, in pursuance of and according to the said conspiracy, combination, confederacy, and agreement last mentioned, then and there wickedly and maliciously did publish, circulate, disperse, and scatter to and amongst divers liege subjects of our said Lord the King, then and there present in the said theatre, divers, to wit, three thousand papers having written and printed on some, to wit, on one thousand thereof, the words, 'No Popery,' and on others, to wit, other one thousand thereof these words following: that is to say, '*The Protestants want Talbot, as the Papists have got all but!!!;*' and '*Fleming, though he has the mace, may find it hard to keep his place.*' '*Gabbett's Digest;*' and on others, to wit, other one thousand of the said papers, these words following, of and concerning the said Most Noble Richard Marquess Wellesley, then and still Lord Lieutenant of Ireland as aforesaid, that is to say, "*Ex-Governor of the Bantams shall change his Morning ton—e!!!;*' in order thereby to excite the said liege subjects so then and there present, then and there to make a great riot, noise, tumult and disturbance in the said theatre, in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws, to the evil example of all others in like cases offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity. And the said Attorney-General for our said Lord the King doth further give the Court here to understand and be informed, that on the said fourteenth day of December, in the said third year of the reign of our said Lord the King, at Hawkins's-street aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforesaid, there was a certain theatre called the Theatre Royal, and that a certain play was then and there presented and acted in the said theatre, and that the Most Noble Richard Marquess Wellesley, Lord-Lieutenant-General, and General Governor of Ireland, then and there was present in the said theatre at the said presentation and acting of the said play, and that the said James Forbes, George Graham, William Graham, Henry Handwich, otherwise called Henry

Handbridge, Mathew Handwich, otherwise called Mathew Handbridge, Robert Fletcher the younger, Thomas Kelly, William Brownlow, Richard M'Intosh, William M'Cullagh, and William Heron, and divers other persons to the said Attorney-General unknown, then and there well knowing and seeing that the said Lord-Lieutenant was so then and there present in the said theatre, but being wicked and ill-disposed persons, then and there with force and arms, wickedly and maliciously did conspire, combine, confederate and agree together, and to and with each other, and to and with divers other wicked and ill-disposed persons to the said Attorney-General unknown, unlawfully, wickedly, riotously and routously, to make and raise, and to cause and procure to be made and raised, a great noise, tumult, riot and disturbance in the said theatre, while the said Lord-Lieutenant should remain so present therein, and then and there wickedly, unlawfully, riotously and routously, to hiss, groan, insult and assault, and to cause and procure to be hissed, groaned, insulted and assaulted, the said Lord-Lieutenant while he should remain so there present in the said theatre, in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws, to the evil example of all others in like cases offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity: Whereupon the said Attorney-General of our said Lord the King, who for our said Lord the King prosecutes in this behalf, prays the consideration of the Court here in the premises, and that process of law may be awarded against them the said James Forbes, George Graham, William Graham, Henry Handwich, otherwise called Henry

Handbridge, Mathew Handwich, otherwise called Mathew Handbridge, Robert Fletcher the younger, Thomas Kelly, William Brownlow, Richard M'Intosh, William M'Cullagh, and William Heron, in this behalf to make their answer to our said Lord the King touching and concerning the premises. W. C. PLUNKETT."

"William Kemmis, Attorney for our Lord the King."

The Grand Jury having ignored the bills of indictment preferred against the parties charged with participation in the riot, the matter was permitted to subside. Public meetings were held in Dublin and other places for the purpose of addressing Lord Wellesley on his fortunate escape. The respectable portion of all parties, it is almost superfluous to say, joined in publicly denouncing the outrage.

The following interesting letters* were written shortly after these occurrences:—

COLONEL SHAWE TO THE MARQUESS WELSESLEY.

(Private.)

"Cosgrove Priory, Stoney Stratford, 14th December, 1822.

"MY LORD,

"In writing to Johnston, a few days since, I told him that I would send your Excellency what news and political conversations and rumours I could collect, especially regarding Ireland; but I did not hear much before I left town, and I write more to have the pleasure of addressing your Excellency than from having anything worth communicating.

"I dined with Lord Sidmouth a few days before I left town. He was in high spirits on the subject of your administration in Ireland, and upon the present state of that country. He told me your plan for tithes had been received, and he understood Lord Liverpool approved of it. He had not seen it, as he was but lately come to town; but he would look into it attentively, and, from what he had heard, he thought it would be highly beneficial. He said he was delighted to find that you took up these important subjects with spirit; that there was a decided inclination to listen to your suggestions, which he hoped you would continue to take advantage of, and that he expected great benefits to arise from them. It is perfectly true that your administration has risen a step higher every time a dispatch is received from you with any proposed arrangement or improvement of system, and there is no complaint of silence on your part.

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* MS. collection.

" Sir C. Flint told me that your dispatch on the reform of the magistracy, had made a very great impression in the Home Department. I have not seen him since your tithe plan has been received. But I believe that the dispatch was not in the Office, and it had not been discussed in Cabinet when I left town. Lord Maryborough told me he thought it would be adopted; that Lord Liverpool was much pleased with it, and that he entirely approved the principle of your plan. He wishes, however, to collect the tithes from the *town lands* instead of from the landlords; because, where there are many under-lettings, there are several landlords, and it may be difficult to fix upon *who* should pay. But this is a mere matter of detail.

"He was not at all pleased at my suggesting to him the only thing, in my opinion, wanting to make it perfect, viz., that he and the other landlords of Ireland should magnanimously give up their exemption from agistment tithes, and share the burthen fairly with the tillage farmer. I conclude that this is a measure your Excellency could not directly suggest, because the exemption is established by law. But I doubt whether the poor tillers of the soil in Ireland will ever pay tithes cheerfully whilst they see the grass-land of the rich grazier and the park of the landlord exempt.

"I have just now had a long conversation with Lord Dacre (who is here) on the subject of tithe. He has been employed in preparing a bill to regulate the amount of tithes in this country; and he has collected a great deal of information on the subject; but he does not think the present moment favourable in England, and he means to postpone it. He asked me many questions about Irish tithes, and said he was informed your Excellency meant to propose some plan. I told him with great truth that I had not seen your plan, but as the subject had been under discussion some time, I had heard the outlines of several plans, and among the rest, I stated the substance of what I had heard from Blake. He singled that out at once, and said he was convinced that such a plan would do infinite good to Ireland. He is against committing any spoliation upon the Church, or even altering their security. The principal feature of his own plan is to regulate the amount of the tithes by a corn-rate, to be taken upon an average of the price of corn for the last five or seven years; but the average to be taken every year, viz., the average of 1822 to go back as far as 1815, and that of 1823 to go back to 1816 inclusive. By this means the alteration in the rate of tithes would be progressive and gradual, instead of taking a jump backwards or forwards every seven years.

"I saw Lord Holland and Mr. Tierney before I left town, and I had much conversation with them respecting Ireland. I think I perceive that the tone of the Opposition will be particularly civil towards your Excellency personally, and that they will admit that you have done as much as could be expected from you *under the circumstances;* but that they are preparing a very sharp attack upon Ministers for not satisfying the Catholics, &c., &c.

"Lord Holland, speaking of the Opposition, said, 'We sincerely believe that the people of Ireland are in such a state that they would join any invader who could land a handful of men there, and how can we remain silent, holding conscientiously such an opinion? We must speak out,' said he; 'I hope Lord Wellesley will not be annoyed, for none of it will be directed at him. For my part,' said he, 'it would be impossible for me ever to say anything that could personally displease him. I am convinced he is doing a great deal, and,' said he, laughing, 'Henry Webster would call me out if I did not allow that he was doing *everything*. But I am sure,' added he, 'they won't let him do half what he thinks desirable.'

"Tierney held the same language. He gave you every credit; but said you would meet with nothing but thwartings and abuse from bigots in the end. 'Canning,' said he, 'fancies he can introduce some improvement. But both he and Lord Wellesley will find themselves insensibly drawn into their *damned* system.'

"It is not to be expected that the Opposition will abstain from attacking the Government, whether they approve or disapprove, and I trust your Excellency will not care a pin what they say of Government, provided they do you no injustice. Indeed, their battering will only serve to strengthen your hands and incline the Cabinet to listen more to you; and this is the observation I made to Lord Holland on the subject. He spoke most affectionately of your Excellency.

"All parties seem to look to Mr. Canning with curiosity, and with rather high expectations as to the course he will pursue. They certainly expect more from him than they expected from his predecessor.

"Mr. Canning's friends, (I. P. Ward, &c.) say that he will astonish mankind, and that he will introduce a system more liberal and more suited to the times; but they admit that he is in a situation of great peril, and that his success will be glorious or his failure signal. It is quite certain that he has gained ground in public estimation. I wish him success, because I believe he has always had a great degree of personal regard for your Excellency, and I think him sufficiently free from old prejudices to appreciate and assert your general views of what is desirable in Ireland and elsewhere.

"If he could devise any mode of relief for the landed interest this session he would gain great credit, and, unless something is done for them there will be a very extensive transfer of landed property. The alarm is beyond any thing I can remember, and I have found it the same throughout Essex, Cambridgeshire, Wilts, Hampshire, and this county. I returned here yesterday from passing three days at the Duke of Grafton's, at Wakefield Lodge, four miles from hence.

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"Meanwhile, it is satisfactory to observe, that all parties seem to feel that Ireland is doing well in your hands. The Duke of Grafton having served in Ireland often talks about it, and he said he admired your management of the affair of the statue extremely. My holidays expire to-morrow, and I shall return to my office to remain for some time. The frost has spoiled our hunting here.

"I most sincerely wish your Lordship a happy Christmas, and a long continuance of health and prosperity.

"Your most faithful servant, M. Shawe."

COLONEL SHAWE TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

(Private.)

"11, Old Burlington Street, 3rd February, 1823.

"My Lord,

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"Lord Maryborough does not expect any mention of Ireland to-morrow; but if there should be, he said he felt satisfied that your Lordship would receive the most honourable and firm support from Mr. Peel[*] and all the Ministers; and, although he had not heard Mr. Canning open his lips on the subject, he had no doubt he would do what was proper.

"I am happy to say that all classes in Ireland and in this country, begin within the last ten days to understand rightly the nature of the contest in which your Excellency is engaged. I now consider the battle as fought and won, and I heartily congratulate your Excellency and Ireland upon the result. I look upon the contest to have been very similar to that which began in South America, when Bolivar came to your Lordship. The question was, *were the natives to be excluded from (even) eligibility to any place of emolument and trust, and were they to be monopolized by a privileged caste, who also claim the privilege of insulting periodically the proscribed orders of the community.*

"I hope there is an end to this state of things, at least as far as the useless insults go; and if your Excellency were to effect no more in Ireland it would be a glorious work, and lay the foundation of all further improvement.

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[*] "I was deeply impressed with the conviction that it would tend to the welfare of Ireland if those Secret Associations were extinguished. I stated that however laudable might be their intentions, however sincere their professions of loyalty, I still thought that the existence of societies having secret signs, was a bad precedent for other organised bodies; and that, therefore, I wished to see, not only the Orange Lodges extinguished, but the spirit which had so long distracted Ireland suppressed. I did everything in my power to procure the abandonment of those Orange Societies, and I think the honourable gentlemen will admit that no man had given more effectual advice than I did. It had been most honourably acted on; and the members of those societies have religiously kept the promise which they made."—*Speech of Sir Robert Peel, Bart., House of Commons, June 4th,* 1841.

"I conclude Mr. Prendergast has written to your Excellency the substance of his conversation with Mr. Peel, yesterday. It is highly satisfactory. I am happy to hear that your Excellency is quite recovered and well enough to go to the Castle. Nothing is wanting to consolidate your victory but your being able to resume your usual habits, and to let the world see the Lord-Lieutenant discharging the usual routine of hospitality as if nothing had happened, and as if no battle had been won.

"Faithfully yours, M. SHAWE."

"To his Excellency the Marquess Wellesley, &c."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Second Marriage of Lord Wellesley to the Daughter of Richard Caton, Esq., Sister of the Duchess of Leeds, and Lady Stafford.—Meeting at the Vice Regal Lodge, Phœnix Park.—The Bridal Party, &c.—Ceremony performed by the Lord Primate of Ireland, and afterwards by the most Reverend the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Murray.—Festivities on the occasion.—Motion of Lord Leveson Gower, in the House of Commons, 1825, respecting the Payment of the Roman Catholic Clergy by the State.—Objections to such a course.—Observations on the Irish Ecclesiastical Question.

In the year 1825, a most interesting event occurred in the personal history of the Marquess Wellesley, which conduced eminently to his own happiness, and afforded another pledge to the country that his Lordship looked with disdain upon those narrow prejudices which at that time arrayed the population of Ireland into two hostile classes, and exercised a tyranny even over the affections of the human heart. In the month of October 1825, his Excellency was married to Marianne, daughter of Richard Caton, of Baltimore, in the United States of America, and widow of Robert Patterson, Esq., a lady distinguished for her beauty, elevation of mind, and dignity of manners, qualities which are described in the highest terms of respectful admiration by those who had the happiness of seeing her Ladyship in the Irish metropolis. This lady was the grand-daughter of the celebrated American patriot, Carrol of Carrolstown, who signed the declaration of independence; but though of republican parentage, she had a patent of nobility from nature, which the illustrious bridegroom, however proud of his lineage and ancestral honours, esteemed far above the tinsel of hereditary distinctions. Her title lent her no grace she did not pay it back again ;—it is a circumstance of which America may well boast, that no court of Europe ever produced women of greater elegance and accomplished manners, than the Marchioness Wellesley, and her ladyship's sisters, the Duchess of Leeds and Lady Stafford ;—for Mr. Caton had the satisfaction of living to see three of his daughters wearing British coronets, while his fourth daughter was married to her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Baltimore, Mr. Mc. Tavish.

The Vice-regal wedding was a topic of general conversation in Dublin; and was, the reader will readily believe, attended with all possible *éclat*.

On the appointed day, at three o'clock, two of the Lord-Lieutenant's carriages, with a numerous retinue of servants in their state liveries,* arrived at Ryland's Hotel, Sackville Street, where the bride had been residing for three months previously. Immediately afterwards the distinguished lady and her sister, then Miss Caton, accompanied by Mr. Johnston and Col. Shawe, entered one of the carriages and proceeded directly to the residence of the illustrious Viceroy, at the Phœnix Park, followed by her suite.

> "Tell me, ye merchants' daughters, did ye see
> So fair a creature in your town before ?
> So sweet, so lovely, and so mild as she,
> Adorned with beauty's grace, and virtue's store ;

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* Uniform worn by members of his Excellency's household :—Sky-

Her goodly eyes like sapphires shining bright,
Her forehead ivory white.
Her cheeks like apples which the sun hath rudded,
Her lips like cherries charming men to bite.
Why stand still ye virgins in amaze,
Upon her so to gaze,
Whilst ye forget your former lay to sing,
To which the woods did answer, and your echo ring?
But if ye saw that which no eyes can see,
The inward beauty of her lively sp'rit,
Garnished with heavenly gifts of high degree,
Much more then would ye wonder at the sight,
And stand astonished like to those which read
Medusa's mazeful head.
There dwell sweet love and constant chastity,
Unspotted faith, and comely womanhood,
Regard of honour, and mild modesty!

The following distinguished persons composed the bridal party—the Lord Primate of Ireland, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Raphoe, the Chief Justice, (the Hon. Charles Kendal Bushe,) the Attorney-General* and Miss Plunkett, the Commander of the Forces, Sir George Murray, Mr. and Mrs. Goulburn, Mr. and Mrs. Blake, Mrs. Talbot, Colonel and Mrs. Talbot, Miss Caton the bride's sister, Hon. Mr. Keppel, Colonel Shawe, Doctor Hunter, the Messrs. Johnston, the Aid-de-Camp in waiting.

The illustrious party partook of a sumptuous banquet at a quarter past six o'clock. At eight o'clock the nuptial ceremony took place at the Vice-regal Lodge, Phœnix Park. The Lord Primate performed the rites according to the ceremonial of the Church of

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blue coat, lined with white silk, and richly embroidered with silver lace; the waistcoat richly embroidered; the buttons were richly gilt, ornamented with a shamrock in the centre of a star.

* Subsequently Lord Plunkett, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

England; the Bishop of Raphoe giving away the bride.

Immediately afterwards the marriage was solemnised by the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, according to the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church,—the Marchioness Wellesley being a member of that communion. His Grace, Archbishop Murray, was accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Russell, parish priest of St. Paul's parish, and vicar-general of the diocese, and the Rev. Mr. Glynn, the officiating clergyman of Liffey Street chapel.

There was a select evening party at the Vice-regal Lodge, including, besides those already named, Colonel, Mrs., and the Misses Gore, Sir Stewart Bruce, Miss Montague, Mr. Webber, and Captain and Mrs. Scott.

In the year 1825, Lord Francis Leveson Gower, brought forward in Parliament a measure, which has long been a favourite scheme for the pacification of Ireland,—a proposition for rendering the Roman Catholic Church stipendiary on the State. Lord Leveson Gower proposed that the Roman Catholic clergy should be paid out of the consolidated fund, on the following scale:—four Archbishops at 1,500*l.* per annum, each; twenty-two Bishops at 1,000*l.* per annum, each; three hundred Deans, at 300*l.* per annum, each; two hundred Parish Priests, at 200*l.* per annum, each; eight hundred and eight Priests, at 150*l.*, and one thousand Clergymen at 60*l.* each.

The proposition was gratifying to the party for whose benefit it was proposed, so far as it was an indication of altered feelings towards an order of men, who, till the arrival of the Marquess Wellesley at Dublin Castle, had been treated with stern contempt by the executive government; but it was inadmissible on several grounds. It was promptly repudiated, and will probably never be favourably received.

A state provision for a Church, implies a certain degree of ministerial influence, if not controul, over its clergy. Such a provision involving, to some extent, the surrender of independence, would pretty certainly weaken the confidence of the Roman Catholic laity in their priesthood; while it would, at the same time, be highly distasteful to the members of the Established Church, and the various sections of Protestant Dissenters; who would at once feel that it would be unjust to tax them for the purpose of maintaining a system of which they conscientiously disapproved.

The alliance of temporal and ecclesiastical power is liable to very many strong objections. History teems with illustrations of its evil effects; and both the records of the apostolic age, and the history of the primitive Church inform us, that in the purest days of Christianity, the Churches were independent of secular patronage.*

Ecclesiastical questions are confessedly the most embarrassing difficulties in the complicated politics of Ireland. They are only to be met by a cautious abstinence from all interference with the rival sects. Let the fullest and most perfect toleration be secured,—let every badge of inferiority be removed,—do not refuse to concede to the prelates of the Church of the majority, the episcopal titles which for centuries have been conceded to them in every part of Europe, Africa, and Asia;—above all, in a frank and honourable spirit, remove every obstacle, or the shadow of an obstacle to the legal acquisition of the property which may be voluntarily bequeathed to the use of the Church,—let no jealous mortmain laws, unsuited to the circumstances of the age, interfere with such bequests, but secure to the clergy by law, the safe possession of the oblations of their people, without any ill-judged interference with their ecclesiastical discipline;—do this in the spirit of good faith, in such a manner as to meet the wishes of the parties concerned, and you will directly interest a powerful body in the preservation of social order. The Established Church of Ireland has from a combination of untoward circumstances, been for centuries an object of aversion, and too often an engine of oppression. A cause of strife has been removed by the discontinuance of church rates and parochial cesses; but the Irish Church Question will continue to be the difficulty of every statesman *until all compulsory payments for its support are abolished.*

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* *Vide* the learned treatise on the Primitive Church, by Sir Peter King, Lord High Chancellor of England.

CHAPTER XIX.

Lord Wellesley's Administration, in some measure, necessarily Distasteful to both Parties.—The Orangemen displeased at his Interference with their Ascendency.—The Catholics considered all Changes worthless without Emancipation.—Retirement of Lord Liverpool.—Lord Wellesley remains in Ireland during the Administrations of Mr. Canning, and Lord Goderich.—His Lordship Resigns on the Appointment of the Duke of Wellington as Premier.—Observations of the two Illustrious Brothers in the House of Lords on the Difference of Opinion between them on the Catholic Question.—The Marquess Wellesley urges strongly the Justice and Necessity of Emancipation.—Emancipation of the Catholics in the following Year.

FROM the observations which have been already made, it will have been apparent that the Marquess Wellesley was in a position, in which he could hardly be popular with either of the two great parties in Ireland. To the Orangemen, whose prepossessions were then in favour of high-handed ascendency, his administration was distasteful;—his extensive and highly beneficial changes in the magistracy, were displeasing to a number of the country gentlemen who had been in the habit of exhibiting party predilections on the bench;—and the Catholics considered that nothing was done while their grand object—emancipation—remained unaccomplished.

But we must not estimate the value of the services of a great Statesman, by the standard of popular favour, which is proverbially unsteady, or by the crude opinions of the hour. We say look at the *results* of his administration!—Economy in the public expenditure—a removal of various obnoxious and oppressive imposts—a remission of the Union duties, which acted prejudicially against the Commerce of Ireland—an inquiry into the state of Education—the purification of the Magistracy—the establishment of Petty Sessions—the appointment of Assistant Barristers—a more impartial administration of Justice, in consequence of the judicious selection of men to fill the vacancies on the judicial bench—the organization of an efficient Police force—the effectual suppression of Whiteboy offences—the extinction of Secret and Illegal Societies—the mitigation of the severity of the Tithe Law*—the extension of Public Works, and the diffusion of sentiments of moderation, kindliness, and public spirit among all classes!—These were some of the fruits of his government.

"When Viceroy in Ireland," observes Mr. Henry Grattan, "he showed himself a friend of liberty; but

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* The following remarks of Mr. Wakefield will exhibit the working of the Irish Tithe system, prior to Lord Wellesley's administration:—

"I wish for the sake of humanity, and for the honour of the Irish character, that the gentlemen of that country would take this matter into their serious consideration. Let them only for a moment place themselves in the situation of the half-famished cotter, surrounded by a wretched family clamorous for food; and judge what his feelings must be when he sees the tenth part of the produce of his potatoe garden exposed at harvest time to public *cant*; or, if he have given a promissory note for the payment of a certain sum of money to compensate for such tithe when it becomes due, to hear the heart-rending cries of his offspring clinging round him, and lamenting for the milk of which they are deprived, by the cows being driven to the pound, to be sold to discharge the debt. Such accounts are not the creations of fancy; the facts do exist, and are but too common in Ireland. Were one of them transferred he was thwarted by subordinates, assailed by violence, overwhelmed with abuse, and impeded in the praiseworthy efforts he made to extend equal rights and equal protection to all classes of the population of Ireland. But Lord Wellesley proceeded firmly in his course; and to him in a great degree is Ireland indebted for the successful opposition to religious bigotry and intolerance."

On the retirement of Lord Liverpool in 1827, Mr. Canning was called on to form an administration, and Lord Wellesley remained Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland*—which office he retained till the appointment of His Grace the Duke of Wellington as Premier. The point on which the illustrious brothers differed, will appear from the following observations made by the Marquess Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, on the 10th of June, 1828, on the adjourned debate on the Marquess of Lansdowne's motion on the Catholic Claims.

The Marquess Wellesley said: That the resolution which had been proposed for their adoption should

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to canvas by the hand of genius, and exhibited to English humanity, that heart must be callous indeed that could refuse its sympathy. I have seen the cow, the favourite cow, driven away, accompanied by the sighs, the tears, and the imprecations of a whole family, who were paddling after, through wet and dirt, to take their last affectionate farewell of this their only friend and benefactor, to the pound gate. I have heard with emotions which I can scarcely describe, deep curses repeated from village to village as the cavalcade proceeded. I have witnessed the group pass the domain walls of the opulent grazier, whose numerous herds were cropping the most luxuriant pastures, while he was secure from any demand for the tithe of their food, looking on with the most unfeeling indifference."

* The Hon. William Lamb, afterwards Viscount Melbourne, was the Chief Secretary of Ireland in 1827.

receive his cordial support. Were he to state the grounds of his vote, he should occupy hours of the night, which had already so far advanced. He supported the claims of the Roman Catholics from solemn conviction, founded on long and studious attention to the operation in Ireland of the laws enacted for their exclusion. The result of his experience was a thorough impression that those laws did not tend to the security of the Church and State, as was fondly imagined, but only produced danger to what they had been designed as a safeguard. It had been his lot to watch all the bearings of the system, and he could not but consider it no less impolitic than it was unjust. In the discharge of his official duty in Ireland, he had the most efficient assistance from the members of his Majesty's Government: he felt at the time, and he acknowledged with gratitude, their active coöperation. He had also been supported by the personal favour of his most gracious Sovereign; and yet, notwithstanding these advantages, his exertions for the tranquillisation of that country had been too often counteracted by the dreadful influence of this code. He was surprised that the present resolution should be objected to, as it did not pledge their Lordships to any particular plan, but merely set forth 'that it was expedient to consider the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, with a view to such final and conciliatory adjustment as might be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of the Protestant Establishment, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his Majesty's subjects.' Now, he would ask any person acquainted with the condition of Ireland, whether it was in a state likely to lead to a conciliatory termination, or calculated to afford the desired stability to the Church, or to effect the re-establishment of harmony and peace? We had had, in the course of this discussion, the declared opinion of the noble and learned Lord on the woolsack, that the consideration of the subject was involved in great difficulty; but still he afforded us no hope that those difficulties would be removed, and a remedy for the evil applied. Did the Noble Lord point out any mode?—did he hold forth the least expectation that we should in any way escape from those difficulties? No; the noble and learned Lord did none of those things. The difficulties lay in a code of laws, which, instead of operating as securities to Church and State, were dangerous to both. Their security was now their danger.

"The operations of those laws which constituted their security were the sources of great positive danger—urgent and imminent, pressing and immediate. Were they not then to go into the consideration of such a code of laws? The consideration of it was a positive duty. What then was to happen if we neglected that duty? Would it not be in addition a pertinacious neglect of the recommendation of the House of Commons? Although, however, there had been, what perhaps might be called, a pertinacious resistance to the concession of those claims, and although it was not likely that at that moment their Lordships would concur with the resolution of the Commons, he could not but derive sincere consolation from the temperate tone in which this discussion had been carried on. It was now nearly admitted by their Lordships—it was in effect admitted by one whom he had the honour of seeing opposite to him, and who was a near relative of his, that such a state of things as the present could not long continue ; and his opinion was favourable to an alteration upon such conditions as might be adopted, and upon such as he would state. The first point the advocates of this proposition had gained was the admission of the danger from the present state of things. The next was the proposition to receive securities to guard against any future dangers. His noble relative would require securities, and he should be among the first to concede every possible protection against danger, and to offer such securities as would satisfy the whole body of his Majesty's subjects. He was far from treating with contempt the jealousy with which some noble Lords watched over the safety of the Protestant interests. God forbid that he should have the presumption to state that his noble and learned friend who sat near him was actuated only by prejudice, or that prejudice could have much effect upon such a mind as his.

“ He had formed his opinion from long and intimate acquaintance with the constitution of the country : between him and his noble friend, there existed on that point an honest difference of opinion ; but he should be sorry to undertake to say that his learned friend was not more learned on that particular state of the constitution than any other man from whom, whether in or out of the House, we required assistance in matters of legal opinion. He did not, therefore, impute prejudice to that noble and learned Lord, and he was the less willing to do so, because he himself when they came to a closer view of the subject should not consent to any arrangement without such securities being provided, as would fully satisfy his Majesty's Government and the people at large. He again declared his opinion that the present laws called securities were positive dangers; and that the sooner we parted with them the better for the empire. We were not, however, driven to the alternative of retaining them or losing all. We might have other securities; and not only that arrangement but many others were equally necessary for the interest of the Catholics as well as the Protestants. It was essential for fully emancipating the Catholics, that they should give securities that would confer additional stability on the whole of the arrangements that might be made in their favour.

As soon as the Marquess Wellesley had taken his seat, his illustrious brother the Duke of Wellington, the Premier, rose and said :—

"My Lords, I rise under extreme difficulty to address your Lordships on this most important subject. I feel particular concern at being under the necessity of following my noble relative, and of stating that I differ in opinion from him whom I so dearly love, and for whose opinions I entertain so much respect and deference. I cannot, however, consent to take the view which he has taken of this subject, but shall proceed to state my own opinions, hoping that, in the end, the views of my noble relation and myself will not be found to differ, in reality, from each other. I wish as much as my noble relation can do, to see this question brought to an amicable conclusion; although I do not see the means of bringing it to that conclusion by this resolution, I agree with the noble and learned Earl who has recently addressed your Lordships, that we ought to see clear and distinct securities given to the State before we can give our vote in the affirmative of this question. My noble relative says *that our security will be found in the removal of the securities which now exist.* I say that the securities which we now enjoy, and which for a length of time we have enjoyed, are indispensable to the safety of Church and State. I should be glad to see the disabilities of the Roman Catholics removed; but before I can consent to their removal I must see something in their stead which will effectually protect our institutions."

In the following year the Marquess Wellesley had the satisfaction of seeing his brother accomplish the important change, the policy of which the noble Marquess had steadily advocated for forty years.—The Catholics were emancipated in 1829.

CHAPTER XX.

Lord Wellesley appointed Lord Steward of the Household.—His views on the Reform Bill.—Appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, A.D. 1833.—State of the country.—Agitation of the Reform Bill.—Obstructions to the measures for Reform for Ireland.—Dissatisfaction of the Country at the Marquess of Anglesey's Government.—Evil effects of the failure of the first Reform Government in Ireland.—Sir John Cam Hobhouse appointed Chief Secretary.—His Resignation, and Appointment of Mr. Littleton (Viscount Hatherton).—The Coercion Bill. Administered by Lord Wellesley with firmness and discretion.—Discussions in the House of Commons between Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Littleton, relative to a private communication.—Earl Grey's Resignation.—Extract from a Dispatch explanatory of Lord Wellesley's views respecting the Government of Ireland.—Tribute of Earl Grey, Lord Melbourne, and Sir Robert Peel to his Lordship's Genius.—Earl of Mulgrave the new Viceroy.—Marquess Wellesley appointed Lord Chamberlain.—Resignation.—Observations upon that event.—Retires from Public Life.

On the formation of Earl Grey's Ministry in 1830, the Marquess Wellesley was appointed Lord Steward of the Household; but his Lordship took no prominent part in the discussions on the Reform Bill. The views of the noble Marquess on this important question had been essentially modified by lengthened experience of political affairs, and a careful examination of the merits of the question in its relation to the exigencies of the times; and, though in 1793 he had opposed Mr. Grey's motion for Parliamentary Reform, he concurred in the great question that signalised the reign of William the Fourth.

In 1833, the Marquess Wellesley resumed the government of Ireland.* He found the country in a state of high excitement. The French and Belgian revolutions had given a shock to every part of the United Kingdom; in Ireland the agitation created by the Reform Bill had not subsided, and it was aggravated by agrarian disturbances, originating in the poverty and destitution of the peasantry, and the grievous extortions of tithe proctors. The Reform party in Ireland were indignant at the obstructions offered to their claims in the House of Lords, and the administration of the government of Ireland by the Marquess of Anglesey and Mr. Stanley, had created general discontent. Individuals who did not possess the confidence of the country, and who, indeed, were not general supporters of the Ministers in office, were advanced to posts of dignity and trust,

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* The following composed the Cabinet during Earl Grey's Administration :—

Earl Grey . . .	First Lord of the Treasury.
Marquess Lansdowne . .	Lord President.
Lord Brougham . . .	Lord Chancellor.
Viscount Althorp . .	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Viscount Palmerston . .	Foreign Secretary.
Viscount Goderich . .	Colonial Secretary.
Lord Auckland . . .	President of the Board of Trade, &c.
Sir James Graham . .	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Holland . . .	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Right Hon. Charles Grant .	President of the India Board.
Earl of Carlisle . . .	No office.

The following composed the Irish Administration.

Marquess Wellesley . .	Lord-Lieutenant.
Lord Plunkett . . .	Lord Chancellor.
Lieut.-Gen. Sir R. H. Vyvian	Commander of the Forces.
Rt. Hon. Francis Blackburn	Attorney-General.
Philip Crampton, Esq. .	Solicitor-General.

while those who did enjoy it, were treated with disdain. The disappointments of the country at the fruits of the first liberal government after the accomplishment of the Catholic Relief Bill and the Reform Act, were productive of incalculable mischief.

Sir John Cam Hobhouse was appointed as the Chief Secretary to Lord Wellesley's Government; but, having from personal motives resigned his seat in the House of Commons for the city of Westminster, he was succeeded by Mr. Littleton (now Viscount Hatherton)—whose lady, as it has been already stated, was Lord Wellesley's daughter. Mr. Littleton's appointment was very favourably received in Ireland; he had been nominated as Speaker of the House of Commons, at the beginning of the session, in opposition to Mr. Manners Sutton, by Messrs. Hume and O'Connell.

The Government were of opinion that the circumstances of Ireland demanded extraordinary measures; and, after a fierce conflict in the House of Commons, Mr. Stanley succeeded in carrying through the celebrated Coercion Bill.

On entering upon his duties as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Marquess Wellesley, therefore, found himself called upon to administer the provisions of that stringent enactment. It was generally admitted that he administered it with firmness, yet with clemency and sound discretion. His Lordship exerted all his influence to suppress the agitation to which he ascribed the general spirit of outrage that was prevalent; but, in the following session, he recommended great modifications in the law directed against these disturbances.

On the 1st of July, 1834, Earl Grey proposed in the House of Lords the renewal of the Coercion Bill, omitting the court-martial clauses. On the 3rd, Mr. O'Connell brought the question before the House of Commons; and accused Ministers of a breach of faith, declaring that Mr. Littleton, the Irish Secretary, had confidentially communicated to him that the obnoxious clauses would not be brought forward; as the Lord-Lieutenant had intimated that the enactments against public meetings were no longer necessary. When Mr. O'Connell found the obnoxious clauses in the bill he considered that the obligations of secrecy were no longer binding, and denounced the Ministry for having practised a deception on him. It appeared from the statements of both parties, that on the 20th of June, 1834, Mr. Littleton sent for Mr. O'Connell and informed him that he had an agreeable communication to make to him, but he premised that all that passed should be considered to be under the seal of entire secrecy and confidence. He then expressed to Mr. O'Connell his regret at that gentleman's letters to the electors of Wexford, told him that though it was intended to renew the Coercion Bill under certain limitations, these limitations were not decided on, but would probably be fixed by a certain day; that he had himself the strongest aversion to the part of that bill which regarded public meetings, and did not think it likely that these clauses would be retained; and declared that he would furnish him with the earliest intelligence of what was intended to be done; that Lord Wellesley and himself were against the renewal of the bill of last year; that only a short measure for repressing agrarian disturbances would be brought in, and that if the Coercion Bill were to be proposed, it should not be proposed by him. This was the substance of Mr. Littleton's communication.

A great deal of angry dispute relative to this transaction took place in the House of Commons; it will be enough for us to say that it appeared that the Marquess Wellesley had written to Earl Grey, stating as the result of mature consideration, that the clauses against public meetings might safely be dispensed with, and that Mr. Littleton, supposing that Earl Grey would be guided by the Lord-Lieutenant's recommendation, was induced to adopt the extraordinary course of anticipating the decision of the Cabinet. Earl Grey, however, was of opinion that the stringent clauses should be retained in the bill, and the majority of his colleagues supported him.

In consequence of these unpleasant discussions, Mr. Littleton tendered his resignation, which was not accepted; and the venerable Earl Grey resolved to retire from public life. On the 9th of July, 1834, Earl Grey stated the causes which had led to his resignation, and detailed the substance of the correspondence between his Lordship and the Lord-Lieutenant,—whom he described as "that illustrious person of whom he could not speak too highly,"—on the subject of the Coercion Bill.

Lord Wellesley's plans, for the pacification of Ireland, were suddenly interrupted by the unexpected dismissal of the Whig Government, in 1834, by King William the Fourth. The following extract from one of Lord Wellesley's dispatches to the Ministry will, however, show how wise, comprehensive, and liberal those plans were:—

"I think it would be advisable," says his Excellency, "to open three seats on the judicial bench, and to take one of the judges from the Roman Catholic bar. This would give the greatest satisfaction to the whole Roman Catholic body. Your Lordship, I am convinced, will concur with me in opinion that the Roman Catholics of Ireland have never yet been admitted to the full benefit of the laws passed for their relief. Entitled, by law, to admission into almost any office in the state, they have been, and are still, practically excluded from almost every branch of the executive administration of the Government. The few admitted into the station of assistant-barristers, or into the police, only serve to mark the right to admission, without any approach to any equitable distribution of official benefit. It is impossible to suppose that a whole nation can repose confidence, or act cordially, with a Government, when so large a portion of the people are practically excluded from all share in the higher offices of the state, while their right to admission is established by law. I therefore conceive that one of the first steps towards the pacification of Ireland should be the correction of this defect; and for this purpose I submit to your Lordship's judgment that it is expedient to admit a certain proportion of Roman Catholics into the Privy Council, to the bench, to the higher stations of the law, to other efficient civil offices, and to increase their numbers in the police, and in other establishments. This system should be commenced at the same time with the new legal appointments, which would form a main part of it. I would also appoint some Roman Catholics of distinction to the Privy Council. This would be a commencement which I can venture to assure your Lordship would be safe and most satisfactory to the whole Roman Catholic body of Ireland."*

Lord Brougham informs us,† that the resolution which brought the Peel ministry to a close—"that it is the opinion of this House, that no measure upon the subject of tithes in Ireland, can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution,"—(viz. that any surpluses of the revenues of the Irish Church Establishment, not required for the spiritual care of its members, be applied to the general education of all classes of the people, without religious distinction)—was drawn up by the Marquess Wellesley's hand.

On the return of the Whigs to office, in April, 1835, Lord Wellesley did not resume the Government of Ireland. His Lordship accepted the office of Lord Chamberlain; but resigned it in the following month.

Into the details of these transactions, or into an examination of the private conduct of the several actors in them, we are restrained, by various obvious considerations, from entering. It is sufficient at present to state that the head of the Government, Viscount Melbourne, in a dispatch dated at the end of August, 1834, declared that the solving of the problem of Irish government was a task every way worthy of Lord Wellesley's powerful and comprehensive understanding; adding, "You will not suspect me of flattery, when I say, that in my conscience, I believe there is no man alive more equal to such a work, and more capable of effecting it, than your Excellency."

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* This important paper has been made public by Lord Brougham in his Biographical Sketches ; Reign of George III.

† *Ibid.* Third series, page 317.

During the discussions on the correspondence between Earl Grey and the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Sir Robert Peel spoke of Lord Wellesley in terms of the utmost respect, describing him as one "so celebrated for his decision and energy."—The heads of the three several Governments which existed in the year 1834, thus offering separate tributes to his Lordship's genius.

The resignation by the Marquess Wellesley, of the office of Lord Chamberlain, was brought before the House of Lords by the Earl of Roden, who endeavoured to convert the event into a censure upon the Government of the Earl of Mulgrave.*

The Marquess Wellesley said, it was not his intention to enter on the subject which had given rise to the discussion, however important it might be considered, and however anxious he might be to express his disapprobation of party proceedings, and still less was it his wish to call the attention of their Lordships to that unfortunate subject—the resignation of the office which he lately held. But this latter point having been alluded to by his noble friend opposite (if he might be allowed to call him so), this much he must say in connection of what his noble friend stated,—namely, "that his resignation was founded on intelligence which he had received from Ireland, relative to the entrance of Lord Mulgrave," that he was totally ignorant of the whole of the circumstances at the time when his resignation took place. He had, at the time, no knowledge of the matter whatever; and therefore he humbly requested, whatever opinion their Lordships might please to form on that event, to which some persons attached so much importance, but to which he attached none, that their Lordships would not be led away by the supposition that it was connected with anything that had occurred on the occasion of the noble Earl's entrance into Dublin.

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* Now Marquess of Normanby.

Marquess of Londonderry having observed that he did not consider the explanation satisfactory to the House or to the country,

The Marquess Wellesley rose again and said, "I repeat that my resignation had nothing to do with the procession which accompanied the noble Earl now at the head of the Government of Ireland. I must also again declare that I was ignorant of the circumstances attending it when I resigned. The noble Marquess opposite seems to entertain notions with respect to my reading, in which he is exceedingly inaccurate: it is not so extensive as to make me master of every sort of vague report that is spread abroad. I shall add one word more. I do not feel called upon —I should not feel justified in entering, in this House, upon an explanation of the causes of my resigning the office of Lord Chamberlain. If your Lordships are of opinion that I should enter on that explanation, let me be called upon in a distinct and regular manner; or, if you choose, institute an inquiry into the subject if you think it sufficiently grave; but without that, I shall not think that I am required to give an explanation, nor shall I give it. I shall reserve my opinions on all public questions as an independent man, as I am not now engaged in any office, nor in any connection which can in the very slightest degree fetter the expression of my opinion on public affairs. That opinion will be formed as my reason suggests, and delivered as my pleasure may dictate; for it is not my duty as an officer of Government—it is not my task to come down here and answer any questions that noble Lords may please to put to me. My opinion on public matters will be formed with independence, industry, deliberation, and, I trust, with integrity. Further I will not go at the present moment in answering the question of the noble Lord opposite. I will not state the grounds of my resignation till I am called on to do so by your Lordships—till I am compelled by proceedings of this kind, or by your instituting an inquiry which shall render my doing so absolutely necessary. I shall then, and not till then, think fit to reply to those questions. I will not make any disclosures not called for in a regular manner."

Lord Wicklow asked as a particular favour that the noble Marquess would let him clearly understand whether he meant to say that the reason for his resignation was not in any way connected with the appointment which had taken place in Ireland.

The Marquess Wellesley did not feel himself at all required to answer that question.

The long and eventful public life of this great man here draws to a close. He retired full of honours and of years,* to spend the evening of his days in the enjoyment of the society of a numerous circle of friends and in those classical studies and elegant pursuits, which, at all periods of his life, had been his solace and delight,—conscious that his actions would live in the page of history, and that when he was laid beneath the clods of the valley, his name would be gratefully remembered by his country.

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* Lord Wellesley was at this time in his seventy-fifth year.

CHAPTER XXI.

Poems.—Latin Dedication to Lord Brougham.—Verses addressed by the Provost of Eton to Lord Wellesley.—His Lordship's Answer.—The Weeping Willow.—Lines on Eton. Inscription on the Tomb of Miss Brougham, Latin and English.—On the Civic Statue to the Duke of Wellington, Latin and English.—The Ruins of Jerusalem.—On the Princess Augusta's Burial.—Sinai.—To the Genius of the Place.—Latin Verses on an exquisite Sculpture by Sir Francis Chantrey.—Parthenopæus.

THE following selections from a volume of Poems, printed for private distribution in the eighty-first year of Lord Wellesley's age, exhibit an astonishing degree of freshness and intellectual strength. The following is a copy of the dedication of "The Primitiæ et Reliquiæ."

Viro Eximio
Henrico Brougham, &c. &c.

QUI, nostræ ætatis Decus ac Lumen, non linguam modo acuit exercitatione dicendi, sed et ipsam eloquentiam locupletavit graviorum artium instrumento; ornatus uberrimis artibus, omni laude cumulatus Orator; omnium rerum magnarum atque artium scientiam consecutus; cujus ex rerum cognitione efflorescit et redundat oratio; Qui et humilia subtiliter, et magna graviter, et mediocria temperatè potest dicere; Qui Docet, Delectat, Movet.

Amico Suo Dilectissimo*
Has Primitias Juvenis, et Reliquias Senis
D. D. D. WELLESLEY.

Feb. 25th 1840.

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* The affection which Lord Wellesley entertained for Lord Brougham was fully reciprocated by that noble Lord; who dedicated in most appropriate terms the volumes containing his Collected Speeches, to the Marquess Wellesley.

The following verses were addressed by Doctor Hodgson, Provost of Eton College, to Lord Wellesley in the year 1840.*

NON quia Nobilitas decorat te clara, Velesle,
Non quia te dites gaudent Orientis arenæ
Commemorare virum belloque et pace potentem,
(Quanquàm illos etiam grati miramur honores)
Sed quia dilectum Musis te Mater Etona
Cernit adhuc, citharâque Senem revocare Juventam,
Quà Chaldæa salix Thamesinas pendet in undas—
Hâc in parte magîs tibi læta et fausta precamur
Omnia, et his olim sylvis feliciter haustam
Castaliæ veracis aquam te fonte perenni
Imbuere optamus, sociosque affere Sioni
Contiguos latices, veræque Oracula Vocis.
Hæc ergo accipimus, Vir præstantissime, mentis
Dona piæ, capitisque tui memorabile marmor
Inter Etonenses hâc luce reponimus ædes,
Bibliotheca suas ubi pandit idonea portas,
Et doctis comitem te doctum reddit amicis.

Etonæ, 1840.

TO WHICH LORD WELLESLEY REPLIED:

AFFULSIT mihi supremæ meta ultima Famæ:
Jam mihi cum Lauro juncta Cupressus erit:
Mater amata, meam quæ fovit Etona juventam,
Ipsa recedentem signat honore Senem.

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* Doctor Goodall, late Provost of Eton, and the Fellows of that College having desired to confer on Lord Wellesley the distinguished honour of placing his bust in the library of the College, it could not be prepared until after the lamented death of that learned and most excellent personage. It was sent to Dr. Hodgson, the present Provost, who received it with the utmost politeness, and with all honour and respect. On this occasion, the Provost, Dr. Hodgson, was pleased to address the above elegant and highly flattering verses to Lord Wellesley. (*Note by Lord W.*)

TRANSLATED BY LORD WELLESLEY.

On my last steps Fame sheds her purest rays,
And wreaths with Bays the Cypress and the Yew;
Eton, blest guardian of my youthful days,
Greets my retiring age with honours new.

THE WEEPING WILLOW OF BABYLON.

Sacra, suosque Tibi commendat Troja Penates,
Hos cape Fatorum Comites! Virgilius.

Dii Majorum Umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram!
Spirantesque crocos, et in Urnâ perpetuum Ver!
Qui Præceptorem sancti voluere Parentis
Esse loco. Juvenalis.

Dishevelled, mournful, beauteous type of Grief
That seem'st in tears to bend o'er Thames's tide,
And still to rue the day, when Babel's Chief,
High on Thy Parent stream enthroned in pride,
Beheld upon Thy melancholy boughs
The Harps unstrung of Israel's captive band,
When heart, and voice, and orisons, and vows
Refused the haughty Victor's stern command
To move great Sion's festal lay sublime,
To mingle heavenly strains of joy with tears,
To sing the Lord's song in a stranger's clime,
And chaunt the holy hymn to heathen ears.
Down by Euphrates' side They sat and wept
In sorrow mute, but not to memory dead;
Oh Sion!—voice and harp in stillness slept,
But the pure, mindful tear for Thee was shed:
To Thee, beloved Sion! vain were given
Blessing, and Honour, Wealth and Power—in vain
The glorious present Majesty of Heaven
Irradiated Thy chosen holy Fane!

Fallen from Thy God, the heathen's barbarous hand
  Despoils thy Temple, and thine Altar stains,
Reft of Her Children mourns the Parent Land,
  And in Her dwellings death-like silence reigns.
Rise sacred Tree! a monument to tell
  How Vanity and Folly lead to Woe;
Under what wrath unfaithful Israel fell,
  What mighty arm laid Babel's triumphs low.
Rise sacred Tree! on Thames's gorgeous shore,
  To warn the People, and to guard the Throne;
Teach them their pure religion to adore,
  And foreign Faiths, and Rites, and Pomps disown!
Teach them that their Forefathers' noble race,
  With Virtue, Liberty, and Truth combined,
And honest Zeal, and Piety, and Grace,
  The Throne and Altar's strength have interwined:
The lofty glories of the Land and Main,
  The stream of Industry, and Trade's proud course,
The Majesty of Empire to sustain,
  God's Blessing on sound Faith is Britain's force.
Me, when Thy shade, and Thames's meads and flowers
  Invite to soothe the cares of waning age,
May Memory bring to Me my long-past hours
  To calm my soul, and troubled thoughts assuage!
Come parent Eton! turn the stream of time
  Back to Thy sacred fountain crowned with bays!
Recall my brightest, sweetest days of Prime!
  When all was hope and triumph, joy and praise.
Guided by Thee I raised my youthful sight
  To the steep solid heights of lasting fame,
And hailed the beams of clear ethereal light
  That brighten round the Greek and Roman name.
Oh Blest Instruction! friend to generous youth!
  Source of all good! you taught me to intwine
The Muse's laurel with eternal truth,
  And wake Her lyre to strains of Faith Divine.

Firm, incorrupt, as in life's dawning morn,
  Nor swayed by novelty nor public breath,
Teach me false censure and false fame to scorn,
  And guide my steps through honor's paths to death.
And Thou Time-honoured fabric stand! a Tower
  Impregnable! a bulwark of the state!
Untouched by visionary Folly's Power,
  Above the Vain, and Ignorant, and Great!
The Mighty Race with cultured minds adorn,
  And Piety and Faith; congenial Pair!
And spread Thy gifts through Ages yet unborn,
  Thy Country's Pride, and Heaven's parental Care.

INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF MISS BROUGHAM,

THE ONLY DAUGHTER OF LORD AND LADY BROUGHAM, WHO DIED AT THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN.*

Blanda Anima e cunis heu! longo exercita morbo
  Inter Maternas heu! lacrymasque Patris,
Quas risu lenire Tuo jucunda solebas,
  Et levis, et proprii vix memor Ipsa mali:
I pete cælestes ubi nulla est cura recessus!
  Et Tibi sit nullo mista dolore Quies!

Doomed to long suffering from your earliest years,
  Amidst your Parents' grief and pain alone
Cheerful and gay, you smiled to soothe their tears;
  And in their agonies forgot your own;
Go, Gentle Spirit! and among The Blest
From Grief and Pain eternal be Thy Rest!

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* Her life was a continual illness; but her sufferings were alleviated by an amiable, cheerful, lively, and gay temper of mind, which was a constant source of consolation to herself, and to her afflicted parents and family. (*Note by Lord Wellesley.*)

ON THE CIVIC STATUE OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

ERECTED BY THE CITIZENS OF LONDON.

(Oct. 1841, ætat. 81.)

Conservata tuis Asia atque Europa triumphis
  Invictum bello Te coluere Ducem,
Nunc umbrata geris Civili tempora Quercû,
  Ut desit famæ gloria nulla Tuæ.

Europe and Asia, saved by Thee, proclaim
Invincible in war thy deathless name;
Now round Thy brows the Civic Oak we twine,
That every earthly glory may be thine.

THE RUINS OF JERUSALEM,

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE TRIUMPH OF TITUS.

(Translated March 23rd, 1841, ætat. 81.)

Among the sands, and cliffs, and desert caves,
  At Sion's feet, where Siloa sheds her tears,
Beneath the rock-hewn overhanging graves,
  The faded form of Solyma appears.
No more the fragrant clouds of incense round
  The towers and spires of God's high temple roll;
No more the festal horn, nor altar's sound,
  Of choral voice sublime uplift the soul;
No solemn step nor songs thanksgiving raise;
  No hand awakes the Hebrew lyre divine;
No crowded worship fills God's courts with praise,
  No more His presence hallows Sion's shrine.
Even Israel exiled wanders; doom'd to roam,
  Scatter'd, dissociated, o'er land and main,
Of man and God rejected, without home,
  Never these native dwellings to regain!

The Pagan haunts Idume's palmy shore,
  And Moriah's hills, and Liban's cedarn shade,
And treads, alas! the Sanctuary's floor,
  Holy of Holies by God's presence made!
Bereft of Israel Solyma! in sight
  Of God ye stood, with grace and glory crown'd,
Till, lost in pride, ye spurn'd Heaven's proffer'd light,
  And stain'd with blood divine your sacred ground.

ON THE PRINCESS AUGUSTA'S BURIAL

IN THE ROYAL TOMB-HOUSE, WINDSOR CASTLE.

Open, ye last abodes of George's race!
  Open your consecrated place of rest!
Receive in peace, and hope, and heavenly grace
  A spotless heart, an unpolluted breast!
Within these towers, beneath this ancient shade,
  From infancy to age her virtues grew;
Parent revered! near you her tomb is laid,
  To truth and faith her soul was train'd by you.
Come to her tomb, ye gay and fair high-born!
  Learn the great lesson, how to live and die!
How lowly virtues lofty rank adorn!
  What strength in death Religion can supply!

LEX DIVINA IN MONTE SINAI PROMULGATA,

(Translated March 10th, 1841, ætat. 81.)

Prostrate in solemn prayer as Israel waits
  At Sinai's feet God's presence to declare
His everlasting Law;—Night bursts heaven's gates,
  And in mid-day spreads darkness through the air;

Red lightning's fires break from the gloom of night,
And awful thunders o'er the rocks resound;
The mountain quakes, and burns, and on each height
Rise smoke and glaring flame from all the ground.
Now the high strains of the great trumpet blow,
(As all shall hear on judgment's final day,)
Loud and more loud the long-drawn notes still grow,
The assembled people tremble with dismay.
On Sinai's top God comes in fire and flames;
The heavens and earth are silent—from a cloud,
In accents plain, majestic, clear, and loud,
The Father's voice His Law divine proclaims.
With such stupendous signs in earth and heaven,
From God himself the Law to man was given.
With equal faith, and truth, and pious awe,
May He incline our hearts to keep His Law!

TO THE GENIUS OF THE PLACE.

Ordinet Arbusta Sulcis.—Hor. Od.

Genius and guardian of my rural seat!
Guest of the Dryad Nymphs and Sylvan Fauns!
Present, with watchful eyes, and noiseless feet,
On hill, in dale, by stream, through woods and lawns!
Now catching the soft whispers of the breeze,
Now listening to the murmur of the stream,
Whose glassy wave, winding through flowers and trees,
Reflects the parting sun's last transient gleam;
Say! where the oak shall tower above the glade,
And fir, and pine, and elm, and beech combine
With willow and silver'd birch to form a shade,
When the fierce glare of summer's suns shall shine?
Say! for within your destined haunts and bowers,
By day, by night, you keep strict watch, and know
The kindred soil, the genial season's powers
To cheer the plants, and teach the flowers to blow;

The dews and vapours of the nightly air
From the young tender buds you brush away,
And nurse the growing saplings, and prepare
Umbrageous shelter for a future day.
Favour'd by thee, these woodland scenes shall blend
The leaves of glory with the wreath of love;
New life the earth shall feel, and far extend
New living beauties o'er each teeming grove.
Her fragrant brow with vernal roses crown'd,
Flora in votive song thy power adores;
And, for each flower, that scents the meads around,
Thy kindly aid and guardian care implores.
Come, then! attired in Nature's simple grace!
Come! with pure Taste, the foremost in thy train!
Unfavour'd by the Genius of the Place,
All toil is hopeless, and all culture vain!

The celebrated sculptor Sir F. Chantrey, being at Holkham, joined in the diversion of shooting, and at the first shot killed two woodcocks, which he sculptured in marble, and presented to the Earl of Leicester. This event was the subject of several verses.—Lord Wellesley wrote these at the desire of Lord Brougham.

PRAXITELES sumptâ pharetrâ, telisque Dianæ,
Venatorque novus per nemus arma movet:
Acris at illa acies ubi primum intenderet arcum,
En! trajecit aves una sagitta duas!
"Parce meis, ne sint vacuæ" Latonia "sylvis"
Increpat "et propriâ siste sub arte manum:"
Ille, Deæ monitu atque animosior arte resumptâ,
"Diva," ait, "hæc culpæ sit tibi pœna meæ,
"Ponam inter medios, sacrata umbracula, saltus
"Signa quibus veræ restituentur aves;
"Veræ in morte tamen, quales jacuere sub altâ
"Ilice, jamque animâ deficiente pares;
"Aspice languentes deflexo in marmore pennas!
"Aspice! quæ plumis gratia morte manet!
"Has Tu, Diva, tuas ne dedignare sub aras
"Accipere, hæc pœnæ stent monumenta meæ.

"Sic Tibi lætifico resonet clamore Cithæron,
  Taygeta et variis sint Tibi plena feris ;
Sic Tua delubris auro servetur Imago,
  Cui vitam, atque animos, et decus Ipse dabo."

PARTHENOPÆUS.

(Oct. 1841, ætat. 81.)

The son of Meleager and the wood-nymph Atalanta. He was taken to the siege of Thebes before he had reached the age of manhood, from Arcady, where he had pursued the career of a hunter, and had greatly distinguished himself for his bravery and skill in the chase, but had never yet been engaged in any military pursuit. He was remarkable for the beauty and agility of his person, and for his courage. These verses are supposed to be spoken by him on his departure from Arcady for Thebes. I received them *orally* from Lord Grenville, at Christchurch, Oxford, and now write them down from memory. Lord Grenville did not know the author : he had received them *orally* from his tutor (Randolph, afterwards Bishop of Oxford and London), who had been Censor at Christchurch. I understood that the verses were in the Censor's book, without the name of the author, about the time when Lewis (of the War Office) was a student of Christ Church. The general tenor of the verses is so spirited, that some repetitions, and other marks of haste or carelessness (*incuria fudit*) are forgotten.

"Cyllenes nemora, et Pholoes juga celsa nivalis,
  "Sanctaque Mænalio rura adamata Deo,
"Linquere jam cogor mœrens, dum in munia sævi
  "Gradivi, et cædes Parthenopæus agor.
"Dilecti valeant amnes silvæque Lycæi !
  "Silvarum Præses, Cynthia Diva, vale !
"Parthenios inter saltus non amplius erro,
  "Non repeto Dryadum pascua læta choris.
"Longùm abeo infelix—Nemeæ requiescite monstra !
  "Securus lateat nunc, Erymanthe, lupus,
"Me vocat hostili resonans clamore Cithæron,
  "Me fera Labdacidæ poscit in arma domus.

"Mater Io! quocunque lates, ubicunque vagaris,
"In sæva abripior prælia, Mater ave!
"Magnum aliquod volvunt Superi—Natumque videbis
"Non, nisi compositum, Mater amata! rogo.
"At non degenerem, fortissima Nonacrina!
"Aut segnem in laudes arguet ulla dies.
"Quid, mihi si nondum flavent lanugine malæ;
"Si nec adhuc justo robore membra vigent?
"Ante diem, quocunque vocant bona Numina, tendo,
"Nec Matre indignus, nec Genitore minor."

TRANSLATED BY LORD WELLESLEY.

PARTHENOPÆUS.

Cyllene's shades, and snow-crowned Pholoe's height,
Hallowed Arcadian scenes, great Pan's delight,
Sorrowing I leave; by destiny of Heaven
To martial toils, and fields of slaughter driven.
Lycæan woods, and streams, and falling floods,
Farewell! and Cynthia, Guardian of the Woods!
No more, Parthenium! through thy bowers, and grove,
Or the gay Dryad's choral haunts, I rove.
Far, far I go—now Nemea's Lions rest!
Now sleep ye Wolves on Erymanth's high breast!
Not to the chase Cithæron's echoes call,
But to fell war, and the dire Theban wall.
Dear Parent Nymph! whatever hill or dell
Delights thy wandering steps, All hail! farewell!
Heaven frowns; no more thy son shalt thou behold,
Save on his bier, stretched out in death, and cold
But not degenerate ever shalt Thou see
The stream of noble blood, that sprang from thee,
Nor senseless to the touch of honest fame
Nor reckless of the glories of Thy name.
Before my day, before ripe manhood's prime,
Aspiring Youth outstrips the pace of Time.
Dreadless I go—where fate and fame inspire,
Worthy of Thee, and equal to My Sire.

ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΠΑΙ͂ΟΣ.

῎Αλσεα Κυλλήνης, Φολόης νιφοέντα κάρηνα,
Χωρία Μαιναλίῳ πάντ᾽ ἐρατεινὰ θεῷ,
Αχνύμενος λείπων, ἐς νείκεα λυγρὰ φόνους τε,
Ἐς στυγερόν τ᾽ ἄγομαι Παρθενοπαῖος ῎Αρην.
Χαίρετε καλλίροοι ποταμοί τε νάπαι τε Λυκαίου,
Καὶ δέσποιν᾽ ὕλης, ῎Αρτεμι, Χαῖρε, θεά.
Παρθενίου κορυφαῖς πολυπίδακος οὐκέτ᾽ ἀλῶμαι,
Ουδὲ χόροις Δρυάδων τερπομαι ἀγρονόμων·
Τῆλε μάλ᾽ εἶμι τάλας. Νεμέης νῦν εὕδετε θῆρες,
Ἀσφαλέως εὕδοι σός τ᾽, Ἐρύμανθε, λύκος.
Σμερδαλέῃ με καλεῖ κλαγγῇ πολέμοιο Κιθαιρὼν.
Ααϐδακιδῶν τε δόμος δῆριν ἐς ἀργαλέην.
Μῆτερ, ἰὼ, πλαζους᾽ εἴτ᾽ οὔρεσιν εἴτ᾽ ἐνὶ δρυμῷ,
Μῆτερ, χαῖρε, μάχην εἰς ὀλόην φέρομαι.
Σκληρὰ τά γ᾽ ἀθανάτων·—καὶ παῖδα σὸν οὔποτε, Μῆτερ,
῎Οψεαι, ἀλλὰ νεκρὸν κείμενον ἐν φερέτρῳ.
Ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ αἰσχύνοντα γένος καὶ γνήσιον αἷμα,
Οὐ βραδὺν εἰς ἀρετὴν οὔποτ᾽ ἂν ἦμαρ ἴδοι,
Κἂν ἐθ᾽ ὑφ᾽ ἡλικίας μὴ ξανθίζωσι παρειαὶ
Μηδ᾽ ἀλκὴ θαλλοι γούνασιν ἠΐθεος,
Σπέρχομαι, οὗ καλέουσι θεοι καὶ Μοῖρα κελεύει,
῎Αξιος ἀμφοτέρων, σοῦ τ᾽, ἀγαθοῦ τε πατρός.

CHAPTER XXII.

Honourable Conduct of the East India Company.—They vote 20,000*l.* to Lord Wellesley.—They circulate his Lordship's Dispatches, and place a marble monument to his honour in the India House.—Lord Wellesley's death.—Funeral.—Burial in the Church of Eton College.—Observations on his character.

NOTHING could be more honourable than the conduct of the East India Company towards their honoured servant at the close of his career.

On the 27th of November, 1837, the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company came to a resolution, to the effect, that they had reason to believe that the Marquess Wellesley was involved in pecuniary difficulties, and that, therefore, they deemed it to be their duty to offer him some further acknowledgment of his distinguished services. The resolution proceeded to state that, on the fall of Seringapatam, the sum of 100,000*l.* was set apart for the Marquess Wellesley;—a grant, which, at his own suggestion, was abandoned to the army. It was afterwards determined to vote him an annuity of 5000*l.* which had ever since been paid; but the Court of Proprietors believed that the noble Marquess derived but little benefit from the grant; and under these circumstances, it was resolved that the sum of 20,000*l.* should be placed in the hands of the Chairman, the Deputy-Chairman, and two other persons, as trustees, to be applied for the use and benefit of the Marquess Wellesley, in such a manner as they may think fit. The grant was accepted by his Lordship, and acknowledged, in an appropriate letter addressed to the chairman.

Soon after, the Honourable Company gave another proof of their estimation of Lord Wellesley's services, by ordering a large number of copies of his Lordship's dispatches to be distributed in the three presidencies. "To the eventful period of your Lordship's Government, the Court look back with feelings common to their countrymen; and anxious that the minds of their servants should be enlarged by the instruction to be derived from the accumulated experience of eminent statesmen, they felt it a duty to diffuse widely the means of consulting a work, unfolding the principles upon which the supremacy of Britain, in India, was successfully manifested and enlarged, under a combination of circumstances, in the highest degree critical and difficult."

Another triumph yet awaited the aged statesman. On the 17th of March, 1841, the East India Company intimated to Lord Wellesley their desire to place a marble statue to his honour, in the India House, as—

> A PUBLIC, CONSPICUOUS, AND PERMANENT MARK OF THE ADMIRATION AND GRATITUDE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.*

The following letter, in reply to the communication from the Chairman and Deputy, of the 17th of March,

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* *Vide* the proceedings of the Honourable Court in the Appendix to this volume.

1841, is the last production, of a public nature, from Lord Wellesley's pen.

"Kingston House, 18th March, 1841.

"GENTLEMEN,

"So high is my estimation of the transcendent honour conferred on me by the unanimous resolution of the whole Body of the East India Company, that my first emotion was, to offer up my thankful acknowledgments to the Almighty power which has preserved my life beyond the ordinary limits of human nature, to receive a distinction, of which history affords so few, if any, examples. Three years have elapsed since this great and powerful body conferred on me a signal mark, not only of honour, but of generous and affectionate consideration. The wisdom of that great body does not deem the value of public services to be diminished by the lapse of time; it is for weak, low, and frivolous minds, incapable themselves of any great action, to take so narrow a view of public merit. True wisdom will ever view time as the best test of public services, and will apportion its rewards accordingly. I, therefore, consider the former act of the East India Company as greatly enhanced in value by the deliberation which preceded it. The present consummation of their justice and wisdom is marked by the same spirit of deliberation, reflecting equal honour on those who confer, and on him who receives, this high and glorious reward. At my advanced age, when my public career must be so near its close, it would be vain to offer any other return of gratitude, than the cordial acknowledgments of my deep sense of the magnitude and value of this unparalleled reward. May my example of success, and of ultimate reward, encourage and inspire all the servants of the East India Company to manifest similar zeal and devotion in the service of the Company, and of the British Empire in the East, and may their continued efforts preserve and improve to the end of time, the interests of that great charge, so long entrusted to my hands!

"Your congratulations on this occasion are peculiarly interesting to me.

"The high character of Mr. Lyall, the Deputy-Chairman, and the distinguished place which he holds in the estimation and confidence of his fellow citizens of London, must ever render his favourable testimony of the highest value to every Public Servant of the British Empire. But the Chairman, Mr. Bayley, in his own person, furnishes the strongest practical instance of the true spirit, objects and results of my system of administration in the Government of India.

He was educated under my eye, in the college of Fort William, founded by my hands, and conducted under my constant and close superintendence; he was employed for a considerable period of time in the Governor-General's office; an establishment intended for the express purpose of qualifying the civil servants of the Company for the highest offices in the State, by rendering them daily conversant with the whole system and detail of the office of the Governor-General. Thus instructed, he attained most justly a seat in the council; and he held occasionally, at the Presidency, the office of Governor-General, with such distinction, that, on his return to England, he was elected into the Direction, and now most worthily fills the high station of Chairman of the East India Company. To receive such a reward from such a hand, at once enhances its value, and confirms its justice. Mr. Bayley, I trust, will excuse this tribute to his character; which my duty of gratitude to the East India Company requires from me on this great and solemn occasion, in returning which, I cannot use any terms which will convey my sentiments more correctly than those which I employed on a similar occasion, in returning my thanks to the inhabitants of Calcutta, on the 2nd of March, 1804, at the close of the war with the Mahrattah Chieftains. 'The just object of public honours is not to adorn a favoured character, nor to extol individual reputation, nor to transmit an esteemed name with lustre to posterity; but to commemorate public services, and to perpetuate public principles. The conscious sense of the motives, objects and results of my endeavours to serve my country in this arduous station, inspires me with an unfeigned solicitude, that the principles which I revere should be preserved for the security of the interests now intrusted to my charge, and destined hereafter to engage my lasting and affectionate attachment.'

" May, then, the memorial by which you are pleased to distinguish my services, remind you of the source from which they proceeded, and of the ends to which they were directed; and confirm the principles of public virtue, the maxims of public order, and a due respect for just and honest government. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Gentlemen, your most faithful servant, WELLESLEY."

"To W. B. Bayley, Esq. Chairman, and
George Lyall, Esq. Deputy-Chairman of the
East India Company."

The Marquess Wellesley died at his residence Kingston House, Brompton, on the morning of Monday, 26th September, 1842, in the eighty-third year of his age.

According to the desire expressed by the Marquess Wellesley, in his will, that his remains should be deposited within the precincts of the ancient seminary where he had received his early education, the funeral took place in the chapel of Eton College. The coffin which was covered with rich crimson velvet, brilliantly ornamented, and emblazoned with the banner and armorial bearings of the late Marquess, bore the following inscription upon a brass plate.—"Richard Colley Wellesley, Marquess Wellesley, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Garter, &c., died 26th September, 1842, in the eighty-third year of his age." The pall was supported by Lord Burghley, Lord Belgrave, Lord Henley, Lord Darnley, Lord Dunkellin, and Lord Cecil. The Earl of Mornington followed as chief mourner, supported on the right by Alfred Montgomery, Esq., private secretary to the late noble Marquess, and on the left, by the Right Honourable R. R. Blake. The other mourners were his Grace the Duke of Wellington, the Right Honourable Lord Cowley, Lord Hatherton, the Marquess of Douro, the Honourable and Rev. Gerald Valerian Wellesley, Charles Culling Smith, Esq., the Rev.

Henry Wellesley, the Hon. Gerald Wellesley, R. Wellesley, Esq., John Thornton Down, Esq., the late peer's confidential agent and executor, E. J. Smith, Esq., Surgeon, William Stephens, Esq., R. Montgomery Martin, Esq., Fortescue Bate, Esq., and some other intimate friends and dependents of the deceased.

Upon the body entering the ante-chapel it was met by a numerous choir singing, "I am the resurrection and the life." The musical service was Dr. Croft's, with a chant by Purcell.

The coffin upon being taken into the choir was set in the centre aisle upon trestles upon which was placed the coronet of the deceased; the illustrious relatives of the deceased Marquess taking their seats in the stall appropriated for them near the coffin.

The whole of the Etonians—between six hundred and seven hundred—had previously entered the chapel and taken their places, with the numerous friends of the college authorities, who were admitted by tickets, and by whom the chapel was nearly filled.

At the conclusion of the first lesson, from the fifteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the body was removed to the vault (in which were deposited the remains of Dr. Goodall, Provost of Eton for upwards of thirty years) prepared for its reception in the ante-chapel.

As soon as the mournful cavalcade had left the chapel, the whole of the Etonians, who were present, proceeded to the grave to take a last farewell of the remains of the illustrious deceased.

Shortly after the conclusion of this ceremony, the whole of the members of the Wellesley family, and the other members and attendants, left the college for their respective residences in town, proceeding to Paddington by the Great Western Railway, from Slough.

As a tribute of respect, to the memory of the late Marquess, her Majesty commanded that neither the military, nor the Queen's private band, should perform at the castle during the ceremony. During the whole of the morning, all the shops near the college, and the shutters of the private houses, were closed, and remained so until after the funeral.

Lord Wellesley was, in private life, a steady friend, —a man of the finest sensibilities, the highest sense of honour, generosity bordering on profuseness, and of the most gentle and affectionate disposition,— during his latter years, one, who knew him well, observes, "next to his books, nothing so refreshed his mind as the intercourse with those friends in whose society and converse he delighted."

His person was small and symmetrical—his face remarkable for intellectual beauty,—and his whole deportment elegant and dignified!—he possessed a fine, manly, voice, and delivered his sentiments in public with great perspicuity and effect.

"The excellence of Lord Wellesley's speeches," remarks Lord Brougham, "has been mentioned. The taste which he had formed from study of the great Greek exemplars kept him above all tinsel and vulgar ornaments, and made him jealously hold fast by the purity of our language; but it had not taught him the virtue of conciseness; and he who knew the *περι* ςτεφανου, by heart, and always admitted its unmeasurable superiority to the second Philippic, and the Pro Milone, yet formed his own style altogether upon the Roman model. That style, indeed, was considerably diffuse; and the same want of compression, the same redundancy of words, accompanied, however, by substantial though not always needful sense, was observable, though much less observable in his poetical pieces, which generally possessed very high excellence. It is singular to mark the extraordinary contrast which his thoughts and his expressions presented in this respect. There was nothing superfluous or round-a-bout in his reasoning—nothing dilatory or feeble in the conceptions which produced his plans. He saw his object at once, and with intuitive sagacity; he saw it in its true colours and real dimensions; he, at one glance, espied the path, and the shortest path that led to it; he in an instant took that path, and reached his end. The only prolixity that he ever fell into was, in explaining or defending the proceedings thus concisely and rapidly taken. To this, some addition was not unnaturally made by the dignity which the habits of vice-regal state made natural to him, and the complimentary style which, if a very little tinctured with Oriental taste, was very much more the result of a kindly and generous nature."

APPENDIX.

Rome's founder, Leda's twins, the God of Wine,
By human virtue raised to power divine,
While they with pious cares improved mankind,
To various states their proper bounds assign'd,
Commanded war's destroying rage to cease,
And bless'd their cities with the arts of peace,—
Complain'd their virtues and their toils could raise
But slight returns of gratitude and praise!
Who crush'd the Hydra, when to life renew'd,
And monsters dire with fated toil subdued,
Found that the monster Envy never dies,
'Till low in equal death her conqueror lies;
For he who soars to an unusual height,
Oppressive dazzles, with excess of light,
The arts beneath him; yet, when dead, shall prove
An object worthy of esteem and love.
Yet Rome to thee her living honours pays!

PUBLIC TRIBUTE
OF
THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY
TO THE
Most Noble THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, K.G., etc.

17th March, 1841.

At a Court of Directors held on the 10th of March, 1841, it was "Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that, referring to the important services of the Most Noble the Marquess Wellesley, in establishing and consolidating the

British dominion in India upon a basis of security which it never before possessed, a statue of his Lordship be placed in the general court-room of this house as a PUBLIC, CONSPICUOUS, and PERMANENT MARK of the ADMIRATION and GRATITUDE of the EAST INDIA COMPANY.

"That this resolution be communicated to the General Court of Proprietors at the ensuing Quarterly Meeting, and that they be invited to concur therein."

The subject was brought forward at the Quarterly General Court, held at the India House on the 17th of March, 1841.

The Chairman *(William Butterworth Bayley, Esq.)* said, that "In submitting for the adoption of the Court a proposal to add one more to the statues of the distinguished and eminent men by which that place was adorned, it would be unnecessary to occupy any considerable portion of time. The merits of the Marquess Wellesley were well known; they had been very recently discussed in that Court, and were most heartily recognized by the East India Company. They needed no panegyric, nor did the gratitude of the East India Company require either argument or eloquence to call it into action. Nearly forty years had elapsed since the close of his Lordship's administration; but the events by which it was marked were fresh in their recollections, as though of recent occurrence, and in that of those who had read his admirable papers. The Marquess Wellesley arrived in India at a period when the country was surrounded with peril, when the peace and security of that country were exposed to the most imminent dangers from within and from without, when it required the mind of a man of his great talents to rescue it from danger. It was his glorious destiny to place the British empire in India in a position of honour and safety which it had never before attained. His energetic mind, embracing in one comprehensive view all the elements of Indian power, enabled him to combine them for the benefit alike of that country and his own. He selected, with unerring and intuitive judgment, the instruments best calculated to carry out his magnificent plans; while, by the force of that influence which great minds exercise over their fellow-men, he imbued them with his own spirit, and directed vast, distant, and complicated operations, with a degree of precision scarcely to be looked for in the most ordinary transactions. The sagacity with which he selected officers for high trust was not more remarkable than the generous confidence which he reposed in their exertions, and the liberality with which he ascribed to them the chief merit of his own successful measures. Nor was this liberality confined to those engaged in great military and political duties; it pervaded every branch of the administration, and a kind of zealous and honourable emulation, and of kindly feeling toward the natives, was excited or encouraged in the civil service, to the extent which contributed, less conspicuously indeed, but not less assuredly, than his military and political achievements, to the honour of the British name, and to the prosperity of British India. The result of his Lordship's measures was, as they knew, to place the British empire in India on a basis of permanent security, to drive from that country the European influence which they had the most reason to dread, to elevate the British character in native estimation, and to make the British Government the paramount dominant power among the states of India. The wisdom of this policy had been tested by time and approved by experience. It was now proposed to ratify that decision by placing the statue of the illustrious Governor-General of India in that room where his name and deeds had so often called for praise, and been so often honourably mentioned. He need scarcely remind the Court that, independently of the political acts of his administration, the Marquess Wellesley had many claims upon their gratitude and respect. Had he governed India at a time when the course of events had left little room for the display of political wisdom, he would have been remembered with honour for the wisdom of his civil administration, as the patron of learning and the fostering friend of institutions calculated to promote the good government of our Indian empire. Himself a statesman and a scholar of the highest eminence, he was desirous that all connected with the government should possess the advantages of which he made so noble a use. Such was the man for whose statue a niche in that room was claimed —the defender of India in a crisis of extraordinary peril and difficulty; the consolidator of our empire; the promoter of learning—in war and in peace alike distinguished by all the qualities that could command respect. Brilliant beyond comparison as was his administration, that was his smallest praise. It was on the ground of the solid benefits, of which it was the source that the Proprietors were now invited to perform an act of liberal justice, which he sincerely thought would be as honourable to the East India Company, as to the distinguished object of it. The Honourable Chairman concluded by moving a resolution, reciting the resolution of the Court of Directors, and in confirmation of it, resolving that a statue of his Lordship be placed in the general court-room of this House, as a public, conspicuous, and permanent mark of the admiration and gratitude of the East India Company."

George Lyall, Esq.—"Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in rising to second the motion of the honourable Chairman, to place a statue of the Marquess Wellesley in this court-room; for certainly, if public services of the most transcendent importance, performed under circumstances of almost unparalleled difficulty, and crowned with the most brilliant and complete success, entitle a statesman to the gratitude and admiration of his country, Lord Wellesley has unquestionably established the strongest claims to both. As you have just heard his Lordship's services fully and ably stated by the Chairman, I will not occupy your time by a recapitulation of them; they now form, indeed, an interesting part of the history of the British empire, where they are recorded imperishably in some of its brightest pages. Undoubtedly, Lord Wellesley, like most other great men, has experienced the truth of Mr. Burke's observation, that "Obloquy is an ingredient in the composition of all true glory;" but happily his Lordship has long outlived the ephemeral calumnies and unfounded prejudices by which at one time he was malignantly assailed, and has now before him in his declining years the cheering prospect of his unvarnished fame descending with unsullied lustre to future ages. If, gentlemen, anything is calculated to add to the gratification his elevated mind must derive from these considerations, it will be afforded to him by the vote of the East India Company this day, which I confidently trust will be an unanimous one—for I need hardly observe that we confer honour upon ourselves when we show that we are capable of justly appreciating exalted merit and evince at the same time a disposition to acknowledge and reward it."

— *Weeding, Esq.* rose, supporting the motion before the Court, and observed, that "It was intended to do honour to the Marquess Wellesley, one of the most illustrious men of his age and nation. The merits of the noble Lord were to be found in the annals of the East India Company, more especially during the time when he filled the office of Governor-General of India. More than an age, a period of thirty-five years, had since elapsed, and this time had served to correct the erroneous views which were at one time entertained by persons, even in that Court, of his Lordship's measures. Public opinion, however, had long since affixed the seal of approbation to the wisdom of his counsels, the vigour of his government, and the policy of his administration. And the noble Lord had had the happiness to survive to see those prejudices dissolved which once encountered his government, but which the lapse and experience of many years had proved to have been entirely mistaken. This was not the first time that the merits of the Marquess Wellesley had been the theme of discussion in that Court. It was scarcely necessary, therefore, to dilate much upon them; but he might be permitted to say, that no man ever did so much, so variously, and so well for his country and for India, as the noble Marquess had done, within the same period of time. In the short space of seven years, between 1798 and 1805, he added to the Company's possessions upwards of 140,000 square miles of territory, yielding a net annual revenue of more than a million sterling. This accession of territory brought under the government of the Company a population of fourteen millions, whose security and freedom were thereby assured, and whose civilization, prosperity, and happiness, while British sway continued, must needs be promoted and improved. In the acquisition and adjustment of this territory, the noble Lord showed a regard not merely to its own value and stability, but to the security of the territories which had been previously acquired. Like a skilful architect, in his policy and plans he not only adjusted the new territories to the old in such manner as to provide for the protection and safety of both, but he so adjusted them as to afford the ready means of receiving and uniting other portions of territory, which he saw would unavoidably follow. To the sagacious mind of the noble Marquess it was obvious that further conquests would be inevitable on the part of the East India Company; and the history of the ten years, which immediately followed his administration, proved the accuracy of his perception and forecast. By his Lordship's own acquisitions, and that was the important point for their consideration, by their nature and extent, he imparted to their government in India such a degree of strength as to give them the power and the facility to resist and subdue all future aggression. For this they proposed to erect the statue of the noble

Lord as a monument of his merit and of their gratitude and praise. In this proposal he most cordially concurred." Mr. Weeding said, "It had, he believed, been objected, that they were about to erect this monument to the individual while living; whereas, it was usual to wait till he had departed. He was pleased that they had adopted the course proposed. From the advanced age of the noble Marquess it was not to be expected that he could render further active services to the East India Company or to his country. So far as they were concerned, therefore, he had taken his departure. He was now upwards of fourscore years of age, but enjoyed, he was told, and happy was he to hear it, good mental and bodily health, that he was in the enjoyment of his intellectual as well as his bodily functions. The tribute then which they were about to pay his merits and services, might be, he trusted would be, most gratifying to his feelings in his declining age. It might serve to cheer and smooth the way, which resignation had already sloped. This was one reason why he was pleased that they were about to vote a monument to the living man. But there was another source of gratification peculiar to themselves. By placing the statue of the noble Lord within those walls while he lived, they would suffer as it were no loss of continuity with him when he died. The very image of their benefactor and friend would still be with them, to perpetuate the remembrance of his great exploits, to keep alive their admiration of him when his body was laid within the tomb. They would thus suffer, as it were, no loss of continuity with him by his departure. This was another reason why he was pleased that they were about to raise a statue of the noble Lord while he lived. The recollection of his great achievements rendered it difficult to refrain from adverting to them. When the Marquess Wellesley assumed the government of India, he found himself in the midst of the elements of war, though no actual war existed. He found French power and influence predominant at the courts of some of the native princes, ready to coöperate for the destruction of British interests, and the extermination of British rule. By masterly counsels, by vigorous, prompt, and judicious measures, he subdued the French force at Hyderabad, consisting of 16,000 men, commanded principally by Frenchmen. He compelled them to lay down their arms, and supplied their place by a British auxiliary force, under the direction of British officers. And he achieved this enterprise without shedding one drop of blood. He next accomplished the destruction of the power of Tippoo Saib, the most formidable enemy which England had in the South of India, and the conquest of Mysore was the fruits of this achievement. Hindostan became the next theatre of his exploits, where he was compelled to make war against Scindiah and the Berar Rajah. This war was terminated in a short space of five months, and was marked in its progress by a series of brilliant victories, and the capture of several fortresses that were till then deemed impregnable. An army of forty thousand men, headed by French officers in the service of Scindiah, was entirely destroyed, and the Frenchmen removed from India and conveyed to Europe. Upon the termination of this war, the Berar Rajah ceded to the Company the province of Cuttach, lying between Bengal and Madras, by which those territories became connected, and a large extent of the sea coast was obtained. It would have been next to impossible for any man not gifted with the rare talents of the Marquess Wellesley to have accomplished these objects. His master-mind possessed two great and distinguished features. One was the skill with which he selected the instruments of his government. The other was the extraordinary power he possessed of animating with a portion of his own spirit the minds of those whom he employed. Instructed by his advice, convinced by his reasoning, quickened by his example, and cheered by the confidence which he reposed in them, investing them, as was his custom, with all the power requisite to effect their object, the civil and military functionaries of his government acquired a twofold energy in the discharge of their duties, and were thus enabled to obtain those brilliant successes in council and in arms, which so highly distinguished and adorned the Marquess Wellesley's administration.

He desired permission to express the hope, that the presence of the statue of the noble Lord, when it shall adorn those walls, may engender a double portion of his spirit in that House; that this spirit may descend upon them and their successors; that they may be unremitting in their endeavours to maintain the honour and stability of the British government in India, and to advance the prosperity and happiness of the people who are subject to it."

Sir J. L. Lushington then rose and said, "Having had the honour, when the services of the Marquess Wellesley were last brought to the notice of the General Court of Proprietors, to second the motion for confirming the resolution of the Court of Directors, and when a decision was come to, as honourable to the proprietors, as it must have been gratifying to the noble Lord, I hope I may be permitted to express my satisfaction at the present motion, and my most cordial approbation of it. It appears to me, that if we were not to do what is now proposed, we should act inconsistently with what has already been done, and that we should be the means of laying the East India Company open to the animadversion of posterity for neglecting to pay due honour where it is justly deserved, and for partiality to others, with whom, without disparagement to their eminent services, I consider the noble Marquess equally entitled to the grateful recollection of the East India Company. Any person acquainted with the history of British India, and of the means and measures by which our empire there has been extended and consolidated, on coming into this court-room and perceiving the statues of those distinguished persons which already adorn its walls, placed there as conspicuous and lasting memorials of their own great services, and the gratitude of the East India Company—would not such a person, I ask, naturally look for the statue of Lord Wellesley and be surprised and disappointed if he found it not? If Lord Clive has been aptly termed the founder of our Indian empire, so may Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, and Lord Wellesley be called the master-builders of that stupendous and splendid structure; and I can hardly imagine that in this Court there will be a dissentient voice against paying Lord Wellesley that honour which has already been bestowed upon these great men, and with whom I hesitate not to associate his name—at least upon equal terms. It would be an act of superfluity on my part to expatiate upon the important services rendered to the East India Company by the Marquess Wellesley: they are well known to the public—have been frequently acknowledged by this Court; and I will therefore only add my firm belief and hope, that we shall unanimously approve of the motion."

M. Martin, Esq., in support of the motion, said, "The confidence reposed in me by the illustrious nobleman whose glorious achievements we are thus met to honour, will, I trust, Sir, be my apology for offering a few observations on this gratifying occasion, which is not one of mere personal consideration, but infinitely identified with the mainspring of our whole Indian policy. For the records of no government or public body, ancient or modern, ever evinced such a disposition to honour distinguished services, and encourage merit, as has been evinced by the East India Company since its formation at the close of the seventeenth century. To this just and generous policy may be mainly ascribed—under the permission of Divine Providence—the building up of this vast and extraordinary empire, of which the world affords no parallel. The noble Marquess, whose pre-eminent merits are now under consideration, most fully acted on this wise and politic system; and by his genius kindled throughout British India, not only in every department of the government, civil and military, but in all classes of our subjects, a bright and ennobling flame of patriotic feeling, which still pervades the breasts of that distinguished body—the civil and military servants of the East India Company. I shall not, Sir, attempt to recapitulate Lord Wellesley's services in extending and consolidating the British power in India: they are now happily too generally acknowledged to need comment, and they are far removed above any individual praise; but I would beg to correct a mistake which my honourable friend (Mr. Weeding) has, I am sure unintentionally, made when adverting to the acquisitions of the noble Marquess, which he stated at fourteen million of subjects, and one million annual revenue. Lord Wellesley added to the British empire in India about half the territories we at present possess—forty million of subjects, and nearly ten million sterling of annual revenue. But Lord Wellesley's triumphs were of a far higher consideration than the extension of dominion: the destruction of the French power in India—the subjugation in Mysore—the breaking up of the Mahratta Confederacy, the annihilation of every internal foe, and the overawing of every foreign enemy, were in themselves but accessories to his wise civil government; when, with the mind of a statesman, his Lordship laid the foundation of all good government by training up a class of men who would be found adequate to the fulfilment of the high and responsible duties committed to their care. The foundation of the College of Fort William was indeed a master-stroke of policy; among its distinguished examiners, were the honourable and respected names of Edmonstone, (to whose abilities Lord Wellesley is so deeply indebted,) of Hilario Barlow, of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, and amongst its professors, Lumsden, Gilchrist, Carey, and others, who have since contributed to extend a knowledge of the literature of the East. At this College were trained those able and eminent servants of the State who have been highly pre-eminent in all that can conduce to the conducting of a wise and honest government; need I mention the names of William Butterworth Bayley, of Charles Theophilus Metcalf, of John Adam, (men who have all successively attained the high post of acting Governor-General,) of Richard Jenkins, (who distinguished himself in every position in which he was placed,) of Byam Martin, Shakespear, Swinton, Chaplin, Plowden, and indeed all the ablest civilians at the three presidencies, who were here collected together in one focus, to drink the lore of political wisdom at its fountain-head, and who, as they evinced talents for the highest functions, were admitted into the Governor-General's Office—a department founded by Lord Wellesley, whence they could be daily witnesses of the secret springs of his government, and initiated in that profound statesmanship which requires the most studious early training, and is only to be perfected by constant experience. As an illustration of the mode in which the College of Fort William and the Governor-General's Office were made to harmonize with each other and produce the greatest good, I venture to mention an example. A civil servant of the East India Company arrived in Calcutta at the close of the last century. He was placed in the College, and soon distinguished himself at all the examinations. In 1803, I find his name at the head of the list, receiving honorary degrees for proficiency in four languages—Persian, Arabic, Hindoostanee, and Bengalee; degrees of honour also for the knowledge of the Classics—Greek and Latin; also for an English thesis. The young and ardent student was totally unknown to Lord Wellesley except by his merits and services to the State, and these were the only claims ever recognized by the Governor-General. The scholar was soon transferred to the Governor-General's Office, and I may mention that, while preparing Lord Wellesley's dispatches and examining the voluminous state-papers entrusted to my care for selection, I found by the signatures attached to these papers that the industry and careful order of the scholar were fully equal to his abilities. In process of time the gentleman to whom I allude, rose through all the several gradations of office, and twice attained the eminent and responsible station of acting Governor-General of India. On his return home, he was almost immediately elected into the Direction of the affairs of the East India Company; need I add, that the example which I have selected in illustration of Lord Wellesley's policy and of his deep intuitive knowledge of character—is our present worthy, able, and respected Chairman? It was by such men and such means that the government of India was conducted during Lord Wellesley's administration, who not only gave to each and all the full merits of the achievements which his Lordship's wisdom and sagacity had devised, but who was equally ready to shield them from censure, and take upon himself the blame of their failure. There are a few other points on which I beg permission to offer a brief remark. When Lord Wellesley arrived in India he found no Christian church: the natives of India were unaware whether we had any religion or not. His Lordship founded a church and supplied it with ministers; he caused the Scriptures to be translated into every language, and offered for sale at a low price; and he afforded toleration to the Missionaries. But on the other hand, he allowed no forcible interference with the religious rites of the natives; he respected their endowments, and took care that they should receive that to which, as good subjects, they were fully entitled—the protection of the State. To use the noble Marquess's own emphatic language, when speaking on the subject in the House of

Lords:—'*A Christian Governor could do no less—a British Governor ought not to do more.*' I trust, Sir, that Lord Wellesley's sound, and, I will add, Christian policy, will be persevered in, and that wisdom from on High will temper with discretion the zeal of those amiable persons who think Christianity may suddenly be inculcated by man, or effected by the compulsion of a government. The minutes of the Governor-General on the agriculture of India, on the natural history of the country, and on the improvement of the great cities of the East, all demonstrate that no object of utility escaped his vigilant attention; and, Sir, it is not a little remarkable, that a part of the business appointed for this day's discussion relates to the adoption of a Free Trade policy for India, particularly in her relations with England, which Lord Wellesley so strenuously and convincingly advocated at the commencement of the present century, which was then powerfully opposed in this Court, and was the main cause of hostility to the Governor-General, but which this Court is now successfully endeavouring to perfect. An honourable and distinguished coadjutor in Lord Wellesley's government now present, (Mr. Henry St. George Tucker,) knows how deeply depressed were the finances of India on Lord Wellesley's arrival in the East: the Government paper was not only at a heavy discount, but almost unsaleable. Notwithstanding the heavy expenses consequent on the Mysore war, Mahratta campaigns, &c., the Governor-General raised the credit of the Government, equipped the largest and most efficient armies that India had ever before seen, brought the whole of his force to bear on given points many hundred miles distant on a given day—and out of the very elements of danger around, gathered safety, honour, and wealth for the British empire. To the Governor-General's foresight and patriotism we are indebted for one of the most remarkable military combinations that was ever, perhaps, witnessed,

—the junction of an English and an Anglo-Indian Army on the plains of Egypt, for the expulsion of Napoleon Buonaparte and a formidable French army. Whenever an enemy appeared or might be expected, there might be found the forearmed power of Britain. His Lordship planned the capture of Bourbon and the Isle of France, of Java, and Manilla; and he swept the Indian seas of French privateers, by arming the fine merchant vessels of the East India Company to act in conjunction with the Royal Navy. There are many other topics to which I would gladly allude; I would wish to advert to his Lordship's suppression of the dreadful yearly murder of infants which took place at the mouth of the Ganges, and to the measures which he contemplated for the abolition of widow-burning; and although his return to Europe stopped, for a time, the progress of many of his beneficial measures, some of them have since been adopted by the East India Company's government. I am requested by my esteemed friend, Sir Charles Forbes, the cause of whose absence we all so deeply regret, to express his cordial concurrence in this motion; for it has ever been an object near his heart to see justice done to Lord Wellesley. Another honourable friend, who was personally a witness in Oude of Lord Wellesley's just policy, and who was subsequently aided, as British Minister at the Court of Persia, in carrying to a successful conclusion the statesmanlike view of the noble Marquess, has requested me to say that severe illness alone prevents his attendance this day, to testify from his personal knowledge the deep sense he entertains of Lord Wellesley's great and invaluable services."

Sir R. Jenkins, G.C.B., said, "I am much in the same situation as my honourable friend the Chairman, with regard to the private feelings with which I rise to support the present motion. Grateful to the noble Marquess for many favours during the period of my service in India, as well as for the subsequent continuation of the most flattering kindness and friendship, I cannot fail to regard the motion with a degree of delight proportioned to the gratitude and affection which I owe to him. But though I trust I shall be permitted to acknowledge how much I am influenced by these private feelings, I shall not, I am sure, be suspected of wanting abundant motives of a public nature to justify my vote. The question before us stands on a basis of public policy and of public justice. It rests on the principle that wisdom and public virtue zealously and successfully exerted in the service of the country should be honoured by corresponding marks of public approbation. In great and generous minds the love of fame is the strongest stimulus to action. The gratification of that passion is, therefore, the most suitable as well as the most acceptable of national rewards. The motion of the honourable Chairman does indeed purpose to testify your gratitude to the noble Marquess in a preëminent manner. It may be as it has been remarked, that the instances are few in which the statue of a public man has been erected in this country during his life; but it is to be remembered, that the Duke of Wellington is one of the few: and to whom can a similar honour be more appropriately paid than to a brother of that illustrious personage, kindred to him in genius and public virtue as in name and lineage—to him who first called the Duke's great powers into action in India, the cradle of his military renown—to the statesman who planned and designed the great achievements which the hero carried into effect—and who is not less entitled to be styled the saviour and benefactor of Europe? It should be our pride, since we have had in our own service such an instance of unparalleled merit to emulate the nation, by departing from common rules in order to show our admiration of it. It would be easy, were it necessary, to prove that this is a case not merely to justify, but to demand, such a course: but enough has been said by the honourable Chairman to absolve me from the necessity of entering upon a further exposition of the transcendent merit of the noble Marquess. I will only add, what of my own knowledge I am enabled to state, that the testimonial now proposed will be considered by the Marquess the highest distinction ever received by him from the East India Company or any other quarter; while neither in Great Britain nor in India will there be one dissentient voice against the declaration that the honour has been nobly earned. I feel confident that in this Court especially, there will be the most perfect unanimity in resolving to place the statue of the noble Marquess in one of the vacant niches of this hall."

T. Twining, Esq.—"This Court, Sir, having been invited to concur in the motion which has been so ably introduced by yourself and the Deputy-Chairman, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity of expressing my hearty concurrence in the same. It was with much satisfaction that I took part on a former occasion, when the object of this Court was to express the high sense which it entertained of the services of the Marquess Wellesley; and I could scarcely have expected that I should have been permitted again to raise my voice in acknowledgment of them: but I am proud to avail myself of the permission which has been granted me, of again bearing my humble testimony to the merits of the noble Marquess, and of uniting in what promises to be an unanimous vote, to raise a permanent record of the opinion entertained by the East India Company on this important and interesting question. I was long accustomed to observe with admiration the brilliant career of the Marquess Wellesley, while holding the government of India; and I have often contemplated with satisfaction the great and lasting good which has resulted from the measures which he originated, which he so ably carried out, and which have so eminently tended to establish, on a secure basis, the

British Empire in India. The compliment of placing the statue of any distinguished individual on the walls of this Court is one of rare occurrence, and is therefore to be the more highly appreciated: and when I look round and see the few niches which are still unoccupied, I rejoice to see that one is likely to be so nobly filled; and I hope that the most eminent talents which the Court can command will be employed to produce a statue worthy of the subject. I would almost venture to express a hope, that on some future occasion we may see added to our collection a statue of the illustrious Duke, whose early and successful achievements in India have been followed by those glorious ones which restored peace to Europe. But I am aware that I am departing from the strict course of this day's debate; and I will confine myself to the immediate object before the Court. I have considered, Sir, that this will make the third public acknowledgment of the strong feeling entertained towards the Marquess Wellesley; for besides the vote of a former Court, and that which may be confidently anticipated this day, I consider that it was almost equally complimentary, when the Court of Directors, referring to those dispatches which have been so ably compiled by an honourable member of this Court, recommended the perusal and study of them as a text-book from which great benefit might be derived to the service at large. With these sentiments I beg to repeat my hearty concurrence in the motion before the Court."

Sir J. Bryant—"I am happy that the first duty required from me in this Court, in the new capacity with which you gentlemen have honoured me, is the support of an act of gracious justice, combined with the indulgence of my personal feelings of deep veneration and respect. The ruler of a great empire, like British India, ever has been, and ever will be, subject to varying and various judgments; but the Marquess Wellesley has lived to enjoy the honest and honourable triumph of his fame,—to witness the rectitude of his views and the wisdom of his policy borne out and confirmed by the practical working of thirty or forty years. To the brilliant action, the momentous results of that policy, it is not my intention to revert; they are the property of history, and the noble Marquess is his own historian. Whatever the result of your deliberations this day, the statue you may raise will be eclipsed by the splendid monument the Marquess Wellesley has erected to himself: for the Wellesley Dispatches exhibit in every page the portrait of a great statesman. But there is one page in those dispatches which, to my feelings, affords a nobler composition for a statue than all the military splendour and all the political wisdom with which his administration abounds. It is that page where we find Honour teaching by example; the letter of the Marquess Wellesley refusing to accept one hundred thousand pounds offered him by the Minister of the Crown as a reward for his services in India—rejected when Lord Wellesley heard the money was to be taken from the prize-fund collected by the life and blood of the soldier. And it exhibits a feature beyond its intrinsic grandeur. The Marquess, it is believed, was in a condition to render the pecuniary provision acceptable: the transaction was deemed unexceptionable in England. The British Minister thought it not objectionable in Lord Wellesley to accept it; the noble Marquess thought otherwise. The position of the Marquess is singular—perhaps unparalleled: he has approached the common term of human existence, and this day is permitted to uplift the veil of Time, and to read the final judgment of his fellow-men; and if aught can enhance his happiness at this solemn event, it must be that the gratitude of the East India Company, sanctioned and confirmed by our country, will be addressed to him through our present Chairman, who is an argument and illustration of that great, wise, and benevolent act of his Lordship's administration—the foundation of the College of Fort William; while to our Chairman will be afforded in the execution of your commands, the happy duty of placing in the Court where he presides, the statue of his revered master and friend."

A. G. Lewis, Esq., observed, "I cannot, Sir, refrain from saying a few words on so interesting an occasion as the present. It was only on my way to the Court this morning, that I heard, for the first time, that it was intended to propose the erection of a statue to record the public services of the Marquess Wellesley. Nothing has emanated from the Court of Directors since I have had the honour of being a proprietor which has afforded me greater gratification. It is an act as honourable to the East India Company as it is to the noble Marquess; but although honourable to the noble Marquess, it is (allow me to add) a tribute of our esteem and admiration to which his eminent and distinguished services justly entitle him. It is true that the East India Company were at first somewhat tardy in appreciating the merits of the noble Marquess's public services. Time, however, which never fails to expose all that is false and fictitious, and confirm what is true and genuine, bas at length convinced the public of the intrinsic value of those services; and the East India Company have been foremost in acknowledging their sense of his distinguished worth. The fame and reputation of the noble Marquess, as each day passes over us, acquires, as it were imperceptibly, additional lustre. It may be truly said of him—

> 'Crescit occulto velut arbor ævo
> Fama Marcelli.'

Yes, Sir, his glory daily expands its radiant circle—it silences obloquy—it overawes censure—it attracts—it challenges our admiration. The more we consider the policy pursued by the noble Marquess in his Indian administration, the principles on which it was based, the views embraced by it, or the measures adopted to carry it into effect, the more we are convinced that that policy was founded on the soundest, the most statesmanlike wisdom. I only trust, that present and future Governors of India will study to emulate that example which I am sure they cannot surpass. The Dispatches of the noble Marquess have been alluded to by those who have preceded me as an eternal monument of his ability and genius." The honourable Director continued "In that compilation, as reflecting the highest honour on the noble Marquess's disinterestedness, there is another circumstance which I world mention, equally honourable to the noble Marquess, and which strikingly shows the amiability of his character. In the Dispatches which have been published, the noble Marquess would not permit any to be inserted which had the most remote tendency to wound the feelings of the living or reflect on the memory of the dead."

Hon. Hugh Lindsay rose to express his cordial concurrence in the resolution before the Court, and to express his high sense of the distinguished services of the noble Marquess. Before he sat down, he paid a deserved tribute to the merits and conduct of Mr. Edmonstone, who ought not to be forgotten on this occasion.

Sir Robert Campbell observed that "The name of Mr. Edmonstone had been mentioned, although his honourable friend Mr. Lindsay had not heard it. It had been mentioned with all the respect due to the high character of that distinguished servant of the Company—with all the respect derived from the favour and approbation of the illustrious nobleman under whom he had served, and the memory of whose deeds it was now proposed to transmit to posterity, by a statue raised by the gratitude of those in whose service his transcendent glory had been achieved. In that object he (Sir Robert) most fully—most cordially concurred. He had not been in the service of the East India Company, but he was in India during the whole period of the administration of the Marquess Wellesley, and during that of his predecessor, the Marquess Cornwallis, and was not an inattentive observer of the important events of those times. Having alluded to that excellent nobleman, the Marquess Cornwallis, he would say that, were he now living, nothing could be more grateful to his feelings than to see placed by the side of his own statue, that of his illustrious successor, both aiming at one object, the happiness of the people subjected to their rule. It had been observed, that Lord Wellesley had added greatly to the territory, to the population, and to the revenue of the British Government in India, and he had done so. But it was to be remembered that though these results attended his measures, they were not the objects of them, they were adventitious and accidental. During the Marquess's administration, he was engaged in wars of necessity—they were not waged for purposes either of national aggrandisement or personal ambition. Glory indeed he sought, but not by unsheathing the sword of aggression; he sought it respecting the just rights of other states, while he strenuously upheld those of his own;—he sought it by a course of policy, in which moderation, forbearance, and generosity, were as conspicuous as wisdom, firmness, and decision—he sought it in promoting the happiness of the people so strangely cast under the dominion of the British nation; in giving them peace, security, moral and intellectual elevation. He has lived to receive his reward—to receive it from a generation of men, some of whom at the period of his splendid career were unborn." *Sir Robert Campbell* remarked that "It had been said that the present was not the time for the proposed tribute, that it was too early or too late. He was of a different opinion. He thought the present time best adapted to give value and effect to the intended honour. Statues to the living are usually erected when the services which they commemorate are recent and fresh, and are not unfrequently the result of excited feeling rather than of sober judgment. But in the present instance the services to be rewarded have stood the test of time, their value has been proved by their results, years have mellowed down their dazzling brilliancy, but years have only added to that calm and deep-seated admiration with which they are universally regarded. It is not then too late, neither is it too early. Why should we defer an honour justly due till it can no longer gladden him who is its object? Why withhold the laurel from the living brow, to plant it on the grave, where departed greatness sleeps unconscious alike of praise or censure? No: let the object of our admiration see that his deeds are remembered and appreciated, and let the glories earned in the vigour of age shed brightness on his declining years."

D. Salomon, Esq. said "Mr. Chairman, I cannot allow the present occasion to pass without expressing my humble but cordial assent to the motion now before the Court. I congratulate you, Sir, on the unanimous feeling that prevails on the proposition to commemorate the splendid services of the Marquess Wellesley; and under the circumstances to which you have so feelingly alluded, I congratulate you on being the fortunate medium of conveying to his Lordship a resolution of so complimentary and gratifying a nature. I feel delighted that we are about to devote one of the vacant niches to so good a purpose; for it is an earnest that we shall not quit this scene of our honours and our labours for some habitation nearer to the Government offices westward, but that the East India Company will long remain the guardians of our fellow-subjects in India, that our conduct will be stimulated by the presence of those great men, through whose exertions our vast territory in the East has been won and maintained, and that it is a new pledge given to the public by the Court of proprietors of the interest it takes in whatever concerns the welfare of our Indian Empire.

On the question being put from the Chair, the whole Court rose simultaneously, and after considerable cheering the question was carried by acclamation.

The Chairman and Vice-Chairman, in communicating to Lord Wellesley the intention of the Court, took occasion to offer their sincere and hearty congratulations, expressing the high gratification which they derived from this tribute to the wisdom, vigour, and success of his Lordship's administration of the British Government in India.

THE END.

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